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ART. I.—JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

Apologia pro Vita Sua : By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D. D.
New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1865.

THIS book has attracted much attention, and has most generally been pronounced a remarkable one. That epithet may perhaps be conceded to it, but not on account of the influence its Author has left behind him, in the Church of England, or that which he has acquired in the Church of Rome. What Dr. Newman says of himself, in a letter to Cardinal Wiseman, of November 25, 1845, (p. 262,) is most strictly true, as has been demonstrated by the history of his life :—

“I hope you will have anticipated, before I express it, the great gratification which I received from your Eminence’s letter. That gratification, however, was tempered by the apprehension, that kind and anxious well-wishers at a distance attach more importance to my step than really belongs to it. To me, indeed, personally, it is of course an inestimable gain : but persons and things look great at a distance, which are not so when seen close ; and, did your Eminence know me, you would see that I was one about whom there has been far more talk, for good and bad, than he deserves, and about whose movements far more expectation has been raised than the event will justify.” “In July,” he says again, (p. 261,) “a Bishop thought it

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worth while to give out to the world that 'the adherents of Mr. Newman are few in number. A short time will now, probably, suffice to prove this fact. It is well known that he is preparing for secession; and, when that event takes place, it will be seen how few will go with him.' "

In October, then close at hand, he went, and how exactly has that prediction of the Bishop been fulfilled. Mr. Newman went to Rome, leaving, as his parting legacy to the Church of England, his *Essay on Development*; and we never heard that the Church of England reeled beneath the blow of his secession, or that she, for a moment, interrupted that career of steady, still extending work, by which, in all parts of the world, she is asserting her true Christianity and Catholicity, in contrast with the mock-Christianity and the world-wide schismatical position of the Church of Rome. The phenomenon stands before us, which Dr. Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* enables us to account for, of a man of undoubted genius,—full of the life of intellect, of imagination, and of spiritual thought and sentiment, and whose great ability is universally admitted,—having lived and worked, with intensity, in the Church of England, and now, for twenty years, a well-known member of the Church of Rome, who, in neither of these churches, has acquired any influence, which is strong, widespread, and lasting.

But, though, on account of the personal importance of Dr. Newman, his Book is not remarkable or noticeable; yet there are several reasons which render it a fit subject of notice and of animadversion in a *Church Review*. It is the history of a mind, whose constitution, whose most singular combination of qualities, makes it an interesting and instructive study in the field of speculative opinion and spiritual development; and it is, moreover,—though Dr. Newman disavows any such object,—a renewal of the shower of Parthian arrows against the Church of England, the Mother of his New Birth, by which he signalized his departure from her; and an uncompromising and unqualified attack upon her Christianity and Catholicity, as contrasted with the claims of the Church of Dr. Newman's adoption, whose chief claim to Catholicity is

the isolation of herself from all portions of the Catholic Church which will not bow themselves, because they recognize as their Head only the Church's Living and Divine Head,—to her assumptions of supremacy and infallibility in the Church of God.

We speak advisedly, when we declare this Book of Dr. Newman's a controversial attack upon the Church of England, and upon the Catholic Church, so far as the Church of England asserts and maintains true Catholicity, against the pretensions and spurious Catholicity of Rome. Dr. Newman intimates, on p. 286 of his book, that from embarking in a controversy, which we would think was a vital and important one, in our day,—the defense of our common Christianity against the attacks made upon it through the discoveries of science,—his hands are tied by "recent acts of authority" of the Church to which he belongs. We cannot believe, therefore, that his Present Book has been put forth, *sine permissu superiorum*, or that those who permitted it to be published, looked upon it as so devoid of all controversial bearing and purpose, as Dr. Newman represents it to be. ,

And its own contents show that it is not without such bearing and purpose. From beginning to end, there is, in it, the cool assumption that the attribute of Catholicity is one which is not to be thought of as an attribute of the Church of England; the whole story of Dr. N.'s religious opinions is told, with the object steadily in view of demonstrating, that between Atheism and Catholicity, that is, the Catholicity of Rome, there is no tenable middle-ground; the shining lights of the English Church, the great maintainers of its position against that of Rome, are treated with contempt, and accused of unfairness, and of having, for a long time, held in the bondage of deception, in their appeals to Primitive Christianity, the incautious, uncritical, credulous Dr. Newman! and, finally, the Church of England is dismissed from the scene as a Body whose Churchly position in Christendom is "the veriest of nonentities," and only suffered to exist, by the arrangement of an "armed truce," forsooth! side by side with the Church of Rome. About the weight and force of the arguments by which Dr. Newman at-

tacks the Catholicity of the Church of England and defends that of Rome, we shall have abundant occasion to speak, as we examine his Auto-Biography ; but in what we have already said, the animus of this Book is very clearly indicated.

With the particular controversy of Dr. Newman with Mr. Kingsley, we have no occasion to concern ourselves. Mr. Kingsley rushed to the field with rash and unfounded accusations against Dr. N., which have been made to recoil with fearful power on his own head. We know no more perfect specimen of annihilating controversy, than is seen in the correspondence between Dr. N. and Mr. Kingsley, which is inserted as the introduction of the *Apologia* of Dr. Newman. Dr. N. leaves his adversary upon the field, foiled and prostrate, and seemingly dead, under the inflictions of the weapons of a trenchant logic, whose blows cut through all the weapons and defensive armor of his antagonist, and pierced to the very quick of the false accusations with which Mr. Kingsley had assailed him. It had been well for Mr. Kingsley to have lain low in his defeat, and not to have risen again in that field of encounter. But he must need refit his weapons of attack, and renew the assault. In the general answer to Mr. Kingsley, which Dr. N.'s Book contains, he has left nothing behind of his antagonist, or of his personal assertions against Dr. Newman ; and Mr. K. is, by this time, himself probably convinced, that, however he may be in his sphere, in writing articles about the poetry of the Puritan life and character ; in advocating the principles of a Christian Socialism ; in reproducing, in charming fictions, at one time, the days of Early Christianity, at another, in setting forth the beauties of Muscular Christianity, or the Christian heroism of English pluck and fearlessness, and love of bold and rough adventure,—however in these departments he may be at home, he mistook his vocation, when he exposed himself, so needlessly and so rashly, to the logical ire and acumen of such a proficient in the arts and processes of logical warfare as Dr. Newman. We leave him where Dr. N. has laid him low, not deeming it in our power to extricate him from the unfortunate predicament, to which, by his incaution, he has been reduced.

But this attack of Mr. Kingsley has been the occasion, Dr. N. tells us, of the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*; in which he lays open to the inspection of men the course and progress of his religious opinions; in which he takes us through that bewildering scene of speculation, sentiment, Romeward sympathy of advance and retrocession, of certain convictions, overshadowed by courted, enforced doubt and misgiving, amid which his path was taken to the haven, in which he professes at last, and from the moment that he entered it, to have found perfect peace and satisfaction. It was necessary for him, he avers, so to open his heart, so to unfold the whole story of his Romish conversion, that he might give to the world an unanswerable proof of that honesty of heart and purpose, with a want of which he had been charged by his antagonist.

And it is in these disclosures that his bearing towards the Church of England and the Catholic Church, and the value of the inducements which brought him to the Church of Rome, demand our attention.

This Auto-Biography is written with great artistic power, and is most skillfully arranged for wonderful dramatic effect. It is clear as light in the purity of the English in which it is written, while, through the whole of it, it is pervaded by a golden mist of fancy and speculation and impalpable sentiment and statement, which involve in mystery and conceal in the dark, the true state of mind and spirit, which, in different parts of the Book, and throughout the whole of it, is disclosed and acknowledged by Dr. Newman.

The arrangement of the narrative, for dramatic effect, is most apparent. Dr. N. has clearly an eye for the striking and the picturesque; and no statuesque posture of his life is, apparently, omitted from his narrative, however little the bearing may seem to be upon the object, for which he declares his religious Auto-Biography is written. Such a picture is the meeting of Dr. Coppleston on one of Mr. N.'s solitary walks at Oriel, and the cherished remark of the Dr. to Mr. N. (p. 66.) "*Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.*" Such is the embalming in amber of the remark of "a shrewd man, who knew me at this time," who said, "Here is a man, who, when he is silent, will never begin to speak;

and when he once begins to speak, will never stop." And so, throughout, the striking positions of his personal life are daggerreotyped, and set before us with taking theatrical effect, till, at last, the curtain drops upon a scene, to which it would be the violation of all dramatic propriety to add another :— "I left Oxford for good," (in the copy of the book before us, a friend has underscored "*for good*," and annotated, "In many ways !") but to return to Dr. N.'s closing scene :—

"I left Oxford for good, on Monday, February 23, 1846. On the Saturday and Sunday before, I was in my house, at Littlemore, simply by myself, as I had been for the first day or two, when I had originally taken possession of it. I slept, on Sunday night, at my dear friend's, Mr. Johnson's, at the Observatory. Various friends came to see the last of me : Mr. Copeland, Mr. Church, Mr. Buckle, Mr. Pattison, and Mr. Lewis. Dr. Pusey, too, came up to take leave of me ; and I called on Dr. Ogle, one of my oldest friends, for he was my private Tutor when I was an Undergraduate. In him I took leave of my first College, Trinity, which was so dear to me, and which held on its foundation so many who have been kind to me, both when I was a boy, and all through my Oxford life. Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my Freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence, even unto death, in my University.

"On the morning of the 23d I left the Observatory. I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the Railway."

Throughout the narrative, there is a perfect unity of design and purpose ; the events of Dr. N.'s life are seen to unfold themselves to the final development, and he indicates, in more than one of these events, even of his childhood, a providential foreshadowing, as he seems to regard it, and a preparation of the issue, which at length was reached.

And now, let us mark the salient points of that progress, and ascertain, so far as we may, both the value of the impregnable positions, which he, from time to time, took ; and also whether these positions were true or false ones, when estimated from his declared and public position, as an accredited teacher and ordained Priest in the Church of England, who had publicly sworn assent to the Articles and formularies, which that Church put forth, and required her Ministers to accept. These

salient points of Dr. N.'s religious life are stated by him, doubtless, clearly and distinctly, and yet, though thus stated, they are involved in a cloud or mist of sentimentalism, and subtle speculation, or of unmeaning imagery, which, though beautiful, leaves no such definite impression, as would the strict definition of opinion, for which it is substituted.

Now, we cannot divest ourselves of the feeling and the belief, in reading the Book, that Dr. N., in thus wrapping himself in a spiritual and speculative cloud, had an intention of rendering indistinct and hazy, what it might be inconvenient to have plainly seen, and so, while not withholding the full confession, which he professes to give, yet gives it in such a way as to keep in the back-ground the unfavorable impression which it would be justly calculated to produce. We cannot help feeling, that, in writing the history of his religious opinions, he is taking the part of an advocate, and therefore so disposing the damaging evidence, of which he is obliged to take notice, that its true and plain meaning may not be seen, or its full and fair effect may not be felt. And we are all the more inclined to think that the mistiness and the mystery, in which he enwraps himself, are not without a meaning, when we remember how capable he is of plain, straight-forward statement, of analyzing propositions, in their naked truth or falsehood, as he has shown himself to be in his controversy with Mr. Kingsley.

As a specimen of his use of imagination and verbiage, in his explanation of his religious phases of opinion, we instance what he says, p. 229, of the manner in which he divested himself of the idea that the devotions to angels and saints interfered with the "face to face," *solus cum solo*, in all matters between man and his God." A Book of Alfonso Liguori, sent him by Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth, at the end of 1842, expurgated by "the omission of one passage about the Blessed Virgin," gave him a key to the difficulty, and was the beginning of his conviction, that all the Mariolatry and Saint-Worship of Rome, were no interference "with the incommunicable glory of the Eternal." And then, he adds :—

"I am not sure that another consideration did not also weigh with me then. The idea of the Blessed Virgin was, as it were, *magnified*

in the Church of Rome, as time went on,—but so were all the Christian ideas; as that of the Blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint, distant Apostolical Christianity is seen in Rome, as through a telescope or magnifier. The harmony of the whole, however, is of course what it was. It is unfair then to take one Roman idea, that of the Blessed Virgin, out of what may be called the context.”

Is this reasoning? or is it pure imagination, or ingenious speculation, thrown into the form of the pretended or imagined discovery of a great fact? Whatever it may be, it was the pivot upon which Mr. Newman surrendered himself to the doctrinal approval of that Mariolatry and Saint-Worship of Rome, which had been his “great *cruz*, as regards Catholicism.”

A most noticeable instance of the mist of subtle speculation, in which he involves his plain admissions concerning himself, is to be found, pp. 233, 234, 235, where he plays fast and loose in so remarkable manner, between *his own* responsibility and that of the Anglican divines, for the hard things he had said against the Church of Rome. But the conclusion of this remarkable passage concentrates, in itself, all the venom of his attack, under the name of an *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, upon the Church, in which he learned, as he says, the abiding principles of the Christianity that he still holds. “I was pleading guilty,” he says, after discoursing for a page upon his responsibility for his hard sayings against Rome:—

“I was pleading guilty; but pleading also that there were extenuating circumstances in the case. We all know the story of the convict, who on the scaffold bit off his mother’s ear. By doing so, he did not deny the fact of his own crime, for which he was to hang; but he said that his mother’s indulgence, when he was a boy, had a good deal to do with it. In like manner I had made a charge, and I had made it *ex animo*; but I accused others of having led me into believing it, and publishing it.”

“But there was more than this meant in the words which I used:—first, I will freely confess, indeed, I said it some pages back, that I was angry with the Anglican divines. I thought they had taken me in; I had read the Fathers with their eyes; I had, sometimes, trusted their quotations or their reasonings; and from reliance on them, I had used words or made statements, which properly I ought rigidly to have examined myself. I had exercised more faith than criticism in the matter. This did not imply any broad misstatements on my part, arising from reliance on their authority, but it implied carelessness in matters of detail. And this, of course, was a fault.”

Habemus confitentem reum. But what a confession! His own fault for what, *ex animo*, he had said and done, is reduced to an impalpable atom, in the deception and dishonesty, in the inaccuracy and falsehood which he charges upon the Anglican divines, who had "taken him in." He would have been better employed in shewing, if he could, the untenableness of their reasonings, and the falsity of their quotations, instead of seeking to shield himself beneath this wholesale charge against them of inaccuracy, and false reasoning and deception. It was, doubtless, easier to disparage the strong grounds of their opposition to Rome, by broad and general denunciation, than, by attempting to refute these grounds of Scripture and reason, to bring to light their invincible strength. Who shall say, after such a passage in his book, that Dr. N. is not writing in the interest of Romish Controversy?

An indication of how thoroughly this Auto-Biography is written in the spirit of an advocate, is to be found, among many others, on page 218. In a letter there inserted, in which he is vindicating himself against the alleged charge of a Bishop, that Mr. N. had counselled a Mr. B. S., "to retain his living after he turned Catholic"—or rather, against the modified statement, "that Mr. Newman was in close correspondence with Mr. B. S., and, being fully aware of his state of opinions and feelings, yet advised him to continue in our communion," Mr. Newman, "not going," as he says, "to let the Bishop off on this evasion," wrote the letter, which he publishes here (pp. 217, 218,) as his vindication. Now in that letter so published, in a passage of it relating to his intercourse with B. S., on the subject of his Roman proclivities, occurs the following sentence, asterisks, commas, and all as here given;—"My letter was directed to the point, that it was his duty not to perplex himself with arguments on (such) a question, . . . and to put it altogether aside. . . . It is hard, &c." These asterisks occur in the middle and at the close of a sentence, in which he was touching upon the very point, on which the charge of the Bishop had been brought. Who can feel that Dr. N., though professing to do so, has put the whole case before him? So far from doing this, he has dotted down the marks of a con-

cealment, which vitiates and renders worthless the whole explanation.

We are reading then, evidently, the work of an advocate, and of an advocate, too, who is consummate in his art ; and the man who so conceals what it might be inconvenient for him to produce, though he professed to make a clean breast in his confessions ;—*this* is the man who is angry with the Anglican divines, because they have taken him in,—poor unsophisticated mortal that he is !

Enough has been said to indicate the manner in which this Book is got up, and the spirit in which it is written. And the admissions of an advocate, of an unwilling witness, who cannot ignore the evidence which lies directly in his pathway, will be all the more valuable, as demonstrating, if they do demonstrate, the falsity and untenableness of the position, which, for many years, this man held in the Priesthood of the Church of England.

Upon the earlier portions of his religious history, we do not propose to dwell ;—upon his early indications of piety and thoughtfulness ; upon his boyish figuring of crosses and rosaries, and vows of celibacy, as well as his early adoption of Calvinistic teaching ; upon his conversion to true faith in the Trinity, and to the reception of the “principle of dogma,” of the tenets of a Divine and Visible Church, of an Apostolical Succession, and of the belief that the Pope was Anti-Christ.

We come, at once, to the years of the noted Oxford Movement, in which Mr. Newman took the views and adopted the opinions and sentiments which landed him, at last, in the Church of Rome. “The true and primary author” of this movement, Mr. Newman asserts to be John Keble, of whom he speaks in terms of the highest reverence and admiration. How far this may be a concession *ex modestia* of one, who was publicly known as the Editor and Director of the Tracts for the Times, we have no means of knowing. One thing is sure, that Mr. Keble has never been disloyal to the Church of England ; and if Dr. Newman means to insinuate that a certain degree of responsibility rests upon Mr. Keble for a movement, whose logical end and termination Dr. N. believes to be Romanism,

or, as he calls it, Catholicism ; we believe that, for the encouragement of such tendencies, Mr. Keble would be willing to accept no such responsibility.

The same disposition to include in the same logical category with himself, the departed as well as living divines of the Church of England, appears in other portions of his book. Thus he says, (p. 176) :—

“ Say, that I move sympathies for Rome : in the same sense does Hooker, Taylor, Bull, &c. Their *arguments* may be against Rome, but the sympathies they raise must be towards Rome, *so far* as Rome maintains truths which our Church does not teach or enforce. Thus it is a question of *degree* between our divines and me. I may, if so be, go further ; I may raise sympathies *more*, but I am but urging minds in the same direction as they do. I am doing just the very thing which all our doctors have ever been doing. In short, would not Hooker, if Vicar of St. Mary’s, be in my difficulty ? Here it may be said, that Hooker could preach against Rome, and I could not ; but I doubt whether he could have preached effectively against Transubstantiation, better than I, though neither he nor I held it.”

Now here is a statement about Anglican divines, whose plain and powerful opposition to Rome is well-known to all men, which can only be characterized as a statement of unparalleled audacity. If Mr. Newman so read their writings, he exhibits here one of the most remarkable instances of the perversity of intellectual vision, which is recorded in the annals of mind ; and if he did not believe the statement he made, why then we have an instance of that fearlessness of lying, for the sake of what he considered the truth, which would justify all that Mr. Kingsley said about his opinions, though the instances Mr. Kingsley selected failed to prove his point.

But we have here, in the year 1840, the distinct avowal by Dr. Newman, of his Romeward and Romish tendencies and sympathies, and yet this was three years before he resigned St. Mary’s, and five years before he was received into the Church of Rome. And, during all those years, he was swayed, as he freely acknowledges, by these tendencies and sympathies, which were drawing him to the Church of Rome, and leading him, first, to give up Anglicanism as untenable, then, to sojourn in it, as in “ Samaria,” which was no part of the Church of God ;

and then, at last, when his *Essay on Development* failed to arrest his onward march, as he wrote it to see whether it might not have that effect ! to seek refuge, by Father Dominic's intervention, in the Church of Rome, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

It is well worth while to see how early these tendencies are owned by him to have developed themselves in his religious career. On page 253, he says, that in 1838 he—

"Could not," "of course," accede to Dr. Pusey's proposal to join him in a subscription to "a Cranmer memorial." "And, as time went on," he adds, "he (Dr. Pusey) would not take any hints, which I gave him, on the subject of my growing inclination to Rome." And again, p. 257,—*"As in 1840 I listened to the rising doubt in favor of Rome, now I listened to the waning doubt in favor of the English Church. To be certain is to know that one knows; what test had I, that I should not change again after that I had become a Catholic? I had still apprehension of this, though I thought a time would come when it would depart. However, some limit ought to be put to these vague misgivings; I must do my best, and then leave it to a higher power to prosper it."*

And now, for the singularity of the expedient which he adopted to try whether his convictions in favor of the Romish Church would not grow weaker :—

"So," he continues, "I determined to write an *Essay on Doctrinal Development*; and then, if, at the end of it, my convictions in favor of the Roman Church were not weaker, to make up my mind to seek admission into her fold. I acted upon this resolution in the beginning of 1845, and worked at my *Essay* steadily until the autumn."

Here, then, we have the confession of the early rise of his Romeward inclination, and of the kind of breaks which he put upon it, to hinder its too swift development.

On page 251, he says, that the thought that "the Church of Rome" is "the Catholic Church, and ours not part of the Catholic Church, because not in communion with Rome," "came to me last summer four years," that is, in the year 1839. During all those years, he cherished those Romish views and sympathies, while he held position and exercised his Ministry in the English Church.

And he writes the history of these, his religious opinions, to

convince men, that, in all these years, he was honest in his purposes and convictions. That he believed himself to have the right thus to think and feel, while he retained a position which bound him, under the holiest of obligations, to other views and sympathies, we are not disposed to deny ; but the obliquity of moral vision which caused him so to see, is an outward and palpable fact, about which we may pronounce a distinct and definite judgment. And we think the judgment which an unsophisticated conscience pronounces upon such a posture of human life, not in the least degree doubtful. That Dr. Newman was untrue to his vows as a Priest of the English Church, we unhesitatingly declare, and appeal, for the justification of our declaration, to the unsophisticated conscience of mankind.

He acknowledges fully the strength of his Romish sympathy, and he declares Romish views and opinions which he firmly held. Page 175, he says :—

“The arguments which I have published against Romanism seem to myself as cogent as ever, but men go by their sympathies, not by argument; and if I feel the force of this influence, who bow to the arguments, why may not others still more who never have in the same degree admitted the arguments?”

“Nor can I counteract the danger by preaching or writing against Rome. I seem to myself almost to have shot my last arrow in the Article on English Catholicity.” [This Article was his despairing effort to recover from a shock he had received by an Article in the Dublin Review against English Catholicity.] “It must be added, that the very circumstance that I have committed myself against Rome, has the effect of setting to sleep people suspicious about me, which is painful now that I begin to have suspicions about myself. I mentioned my general difficulty to A. B., a year since, than whom I know no one of a more fine and accurate conscience, and it was his spontaneous idea that I should give up St. Mary’s, if my feelings continued. I mentioned it again to him lately, and he did not reverse his opinion, only expressed great reluctance to believe it must be so.”

Such were Mr. N.’s sympathies and feelings, fully known to himself in 1840. His Preaching was disliked, he says in this same letter, by the Authorities of the University. The Heads of Houses—

“Exclude me, as far as may be, from the University Pulpit; and, though I never have preached strong doctrine in it, they do so rightly, so far as this, that they understand that my sermons are calculated to

undermine things established. *I cannot disguise from myself that they are.* No one will deny that most of my sermons are on moral subjects, not doctrinal; still, I am leading my hearers to the Primitive Church, if you will, but not to the Church of England. Now, ought one to be disgusting the minds of young men with the received religion, in the exercise of a sacred office, yet without a commission," [does he mean a commission from Rome?] "against the wish of their guides and governors?"

"*But this not all.* I fear I must allow that, whether I will or no, I am disposing them towards Rome. First, because Rome is the only Representative of the Primitive Church besides ourselves; in proportion then as they are loosened from the one, they will go to the other. Next, because many doctrines which I have held, have far greater, or their only scope in the Roman system. And, moreover, if, as is not unlikely, we have in process of time heretical Bishops or teachers among us, an evil which *ipso facto* infects the whole community to which they belong, and if, again (what there are at this moment symptoms of), there be a movement in the English Roman Catholics to break the alliance of O'Connell and of Exeter Hall, strong temptations will be placed in the way of individuals, *already imbued with a tone of thought congenial to Rome*, to join her Communion."

"People tell me, on the other hand, that I am, whether by sermons or otherwise, exerting at St. Mary's a beneficial influence on our prospective clergy; *but what if I take to myself the credit of seeing further than they*, and of having, in the course of the last year, discovered that what they approve so much is very likely to end in Romanism?"

Such is Mr. N.'s own avowal of the work he was doing, in the Church of England, from the year 1839, onwards. The true character of that work he saw,—a friend, of "a fine and accurate conscience," thought that he should give up St. Mary's, if his feelings continued,—and yet, following his own conscience, which does not seem to have been so "fine and accurate" as that of his friend, and the advice of another friend, he concluded that since this friend thought he *might* go on, "it seems to follow that, under the circumstances, I *ought* to do so;" and accordingly, he retained his living, doing the work, which, as he describes it himself, was a work of plain disloyalty to the Church, at whose altars he was ministering; and one conducted, too, as he himself avows, under circumstances which set to sleep people's suspicions about him, and whose suspicions were confirmed by his own suspicions about himself.

There is, surely, a vicious and stifling atmosphere of bad faith, or perverse moral and intellectual perception, which op-

presses us, as we make our way through these avowals of Dr. N.;—avowals made, nevertheless, for the very purpose of rebutting the charge or suspicion of dishonesty, in the course which he has pursued. It was a course which he was continually striving to justify to himself, and which he finally gave up, when it became too evident, even for him to ignore it, that it was neither true nor loyal.

He acknowledges that he concealed and kept in reserve the Romish tendency of the principles that he had preached. His confession of this is painful and mortifying in the extreme, and it is a confession, too, which well illustrates the wonderful *clare-obscure* of language, of which Dr. N. is such a master, in which he involves the admissions that are most damaging to the truth and straight-forwardness of the course that he has pursued. The mingled concealment and revelation, the combined state of conscious and semi-conscious sympathy with Rome, in which he proceeded thitherward, are described by himself, pp. 205, 206, in words which deserve to be recorded and remembered, as a graphic portraiture of a mind making its way through doubt and confusion, the result of a false position tenaciously clung to, the end of which, nevertheless, itself clearly discerned; like one before him, "eagerly, o'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare, with head, hands, wings, or feet, pursuing his way," towards that imagined paradise, but real cemetery of those whose lives have been torn by the evil spirits of scepticism and unsatisfying speculation:—

"In a memorandum of the year 1844 or 1845, I thus speak on this subject: 'If the Church be not defended on establishment grounds, it must be upon principles which go far beyond their immediate object,' [how warily is this expressed.] 'Sometimes I saw these further results, sometimes not. Though I saw them, *I sometimes did not say that I saw them*; so long as I thought that they were inconsistent, not with our Church, but only with existing opinions, I was not unwilling to insinuate truths into our Church, which I thought had a right to be there.'

So did he work in the dark for the accomplishment of his ends:—

"To so much I confess;" he says, "but I do not confess, I simply deny that I ever said anything which secretly bore against the Church

of England, knowing it myself, in order that others might unwarily accept it." [And yet he has just said that when he saw "these further results" of his teaching, "I sometimes did not say that I saw them."] "It was indeed one of my great difficulties," he continues, "and *causes of reserve*, as time went on, that I at length recognized in principles which I had honestly preached as if Anglican, conclusions favorable to the Roman Church. *Of course I did not like to confess this*; and, when interrogated, was in consequence in *perplexity*."

Father Newman certainly does use language with exquisite discretion. The *perplexity* of which he speaks, was his knowing concealment of the Romish tendencies of the principles which he had preached,—and yet, side by side with this declaration, he has already said, "I simply deny that I ever said anything which secretly bore against the Church of England, *knowing* it myself, in order that others might unwarily accept it;" and yet, when he did know that these principles "secretly bore against the Church of England," he "did not like to confess it," he says, "and, when interrogated, was, in consequence, in *perplexity*."

Such a procedure he now wishes to convince the world was honest and above-board. We see, through this sad confession, the influence of a false position in which he was for years, and to which he clung, against the advice of men of "a nice and accurate conscience," in perverting the moral judgment, and blinding the moral perceptions, and hiding, from the man himself, it may be, the full import of the course which he was taking.

In the continuance of the passage last quoted, he shews how he felt the pressure of the position in which he was placed, and how he sought to conceal from himself, if so he might, the bearings of the course on which he was proceeding. It is a most instructive record of the misery and humiliation and danger of living in the atmosphere of a false position, in concerns of the highest moment.

"The prime instance of this," he continues, "was the Appeal to Antiquity; St. Leo had overset, in my own judgment, its force in the special argument for Anglicanism; yet I was committed to Antiquity, together with the whole Anglican school; what then was I to say, when acute minds urged this or that application of it against the *Via Media*? It was impossible that, in such circumstances, *any answer*

could be given which was not unsatisfactory, or any behavior adopted which was not mysterious. Again, sometimes in what I wrote I went just as far as I saw, and could as little say more, as I could see what is below the horizon; and therefore, when asked as to the consequences of what I had said, had no answer to give. Again, sometimes, when I was asked whether certain conclusions did not follow from a certain principle, I might not be able to tell at the moment, especially if the matter were complicated; and for this reason, if for no other, because there is great difference between a conclusion in the abstract and a conclusion in the concrete, and because a conclusion may be modified in fact by a conclusion from some opposite principle. Or it might so happen that I got simply confused, by the very clearness of the logic which was administered to me, and thus gave my sanction to conclusions which really were not mine; and when the report of those conclusions came round to me through others, I had to unsay them. And then again, perhaps I did not like to see men scared or scandalized by unfeeling logical inferences, which would not have touched them to the day of their death, had they not been made to eat them. And then I felt altogether the force of the maxim of St. Ambrose, "Non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum;" *I had a great dislike of paper logic.* For myself, it was not logic that carried me on; as well might one say that the quicksilver in the barometer changes the weather. It is the concrete being that reasons;—pass a number of years, and I find my mind in a new place;—how? the whole man moves; paper logic is but the record of it. All the logic in the world would not have made me move faster towards Rome than I did. As well might you say that I have arrived at the end of my journey, because I see the village Church before me, as venture to assert that the miles, over which my soul had to pass before it got to Rome, could be annihilated, even though I had had some far clearer view than I then had, that Rome was my ultimate destination. Great acts take time. At least this is what I felt in my own case; and therefore, to come to me with methods of logic, had in it the nature of a provocation; and, though I do not think that I ever showed it, made me somewhat indifferent how I met them, and perhaps led me, as a means of relieving my impatience, to be mysterious or irrelevant, or to give in because I could not reply. And a greater trouble still than these logical mazes, was the introduction of logic into every subject whatever, so far, that is, as it was done. Before I was at Oriel, I recollect an acquaintance saying to me that "the Oriel Common Room stank of Logic." One is not at all pleased when poetry, or eloquence, or devotion, is considered, as if chiefly intended to feed syllogisms. Now, in saying all this, I am saying nothing against the deep piety and earnestness which were characteristics of this second phase of the Movement, in which I have taken so prominent a part. What I have been observing is, that this phase had a tendency to bewilder and to upset me, and that instead of saying so, *as I ought to have done*, in a sort of easiness, for what I know, I gave answers at random, which have led to my appearing close or inconsistent."

We have quoted this passage at length, because it is as choice a specimen, as the book contains, of the wonderful subtlety and adroitness with which Dr. N. involves, in a golden mist of words, a plain confession that he did, for years, in the Church of England, what he ought not to have done. This passage moreover discloses to us, how he surrendered himself to the unchecked impulse that was taking him steadily to Rome, without being willing to take note, by logic, which was the "record" of the progress that he was making, of the true character of that progress. He was willing to go blindly himself; and did not like to have the eyes of others opened to the logical result of the course in which he was walking himself, and in which he was leading them. If ever a man should have opened his eyes to his position, and to the true character of the work he was doing, it was Dr. N., who was a teacher in the Church of England, who had solemnly assented to her formularies, and was publicly committed to them, but who was, to a great degree, consciously teaching principles which bore against the Church of England, and also semi-consciously teaching such principles, because he turned away in disgust from the logic which would have disclosed to him the true character of that teaching; and when the clearness of the logic administered to him was unmistakable, only suffered himself to be confused, instead of convinced by it.

We think we know somewhat of that state of mind, which Dr. N. describes as existing in himself; for we have been brought into close contact with a state of mind at least very similar. We speak of the condition of those who, in our Church, are seeking the infallibility to which Rome pretends, and the attractions of her dogmas and her worship, and who suffer themselves to be borne unresistingly upon the tide of Rome-ward sympathy and longing, on which they have embarked the fortunes of their religious life. Over such persons logic has no power. They can discern the bearing of an argument, but it has lost over them all convincing power; or if it be an argument consonant with their sympathies, yet opposed to their position, it may confuse them, as Dr. N. says he "got simply confused by the very clearness of the

logic which was administered to him ;" that he was "bewildered" and "upset," and so, an easy prey, of course, to that pretentious yet false Church, with whom the whole man, moving towards it as a home, was in sympathy.

This confession of Dr. N. is sufficiently ingenuous, so far as his Romish principles and sympathies, while in the Church of England, are concerned, but it only shows how unjustifiable he was in maintaining a position so long, in which he was professedly acting and working as an Anglican. His aversion to the logic which would have disclosed to him his true position, is certainly remarkable in one who makes such powerful use of logic as he does, who did not scruple to use it, in its subtlest forms, when he wished to defend the allowableness, for an Anglican, of the principles of Tract No. 90, and who expressly says, that he desired to be swayed, not by sympathy, but by reason, when he joined himself to the Church of Rome. And he owed it, moreover, to others, and to the Church of which he was a Priest, to apply the test, or "record" of logic, to the true conclusions which followed from the principles that he was continually preaching.

But the logic, from which he turned in disgust, executed upon him its revenges. He suffered himself to be carried onward by his Romeward sympathies ; but he found, nevertheless, what he considered a logical justification for those sympathies. And in this,—the first logical wrench which detached him from the Church of England,—we see how one who surrenders himself to the power of imagination and sentiment and feeling, may be taken wholly captive by them, and bound in chains, which to himself may seem the bonds of an invincible logic.

And this was the revenge of logic upon the logic-using, logic-detesting Dr. Newman. We have already seen by what clothing of imagination, in the forms of logic, Dr. N. had got rid of the difficulty which he felt in regard to the Romish Devotions to the Virgin and the Saints. And by a similar logical discovery he was led to abandon the *Via Media*, which had been the bond of his attachment to the Church of England.

We have the account of this wonderful discovery on pp. 155, 156, 157. It is well for Dr. N., in prefacing this account, to

say that he is not writing controversially. Was it a secret consciousness of the miserable weakness of the ground which produced his conversion, that led him to make this disclaimer? Be that as it may, in June, 1839, he—

“Began to study and master the history of the Monophysites.” “It was during this course of reading that, for the first time, a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism. I recollect, on the 30th of July, mentioning to a friend whom I had accidentally met, how remarkable the history was; but by the end of August, I was seriously alarmed.”

And what was the occasion of this alarm? We have (p. 156) the account which he “gave in 1850, of his reasonings and feelings in 1839,” and here it is.

“It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also;” [why so? except in Dr. N.’s imagination; surely there is no logic here to demonstrate the resemblance;] “difficult to find arguments against the Tridentine Fathers, which did not tell against the Fathers of Chalcedon;” [why so, again?] “difficult to condemn the Popes of the sixteenth century without condemning the Popes of the fifth. The drama of religion, and the combat of truth and error, were ever one and the same. The principles and proceedings of the Church now, were those of the Church then; the principles and proceedings of heretics, were those of Protestants now. I found it so—almost fearfully; there was an awful similitude, more awful, because so silent and unimpassioned, between the dead records of the past and the feverish chronicle of the present. The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth.” [Rather the shadow of the *Romish* Church of the sixteenth was cast by Dr. Newman over the fifth.] “It was like a spirit rising from the troubled waters of the old world, with the shape and lineaments of the new. The Church then, as now, might be called peremptory and stern, resolute, overbearing, and relentless; and heretics were shifting, changeable, reserved, and deceitful,” [“reserved and deceitful!” Compare what Dr. N. says about *his* course of “reserve” and “perplexity” and “bewilderment”] “ever courting civil power, and never agreeing together, except by its aid; and the civil power was ever aiming at comprehensions, trying to put the invisible out of view, and substituting expediency for faith. What was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil’s advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo? Be my soul with the Saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God! anathema to a whole tribe of Cranmers, Ridleys, Latimers, and Jewels! perish the names of Bramhall, Usher, Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Barrow, from the face of the earth, ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and

in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue!"

This might be taken for the confession of a full-blown Romanist, who discerned no Catholicism but that of Rome; but it is the record of the "reasonings and feelings" of one, who, for six long years after such "reasonings and feelings," lived and taught and held Orders in the Church of England; but the reasoning which thus tore him from the Church of England, the phantasmagoria by which his soul was so captivated, deserves consideration.

In studying the Monophysite controversy, the wonderful light first broke upon him, that these heretics corresponded to Protestants and Anglicans of times subsequent; and that the Council of Chalcedon, with St. Leo, were simply the representatives of the Church, which, at this day, has its seat in Rome. We do not discern the analogy which struck Dr. N. so forcibly. We enter unfeignedly into his own surprise, at his own new position:

"I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental Communion, Rome was where she now is;" [but "Rome" and "the Oriental Communion" were then together in that Council, on the *Via Media* platform;] "and the Protestants were the Eutychians. Of all passages of history, since history has been, who would have thought" [who indeed but John Henry Newman] "of going to the sayings and doings of old Eutyches, that *delirus senex*, as (I think) Petavius calls him, and to the enormities of the unprincipled Dioscorus, in order to be converted to Rome!"

Dr. N. seems fairly surprised at his own audacity in re-casting, in the moulds of Trent, the history of those ancient Catholics. What are the plain facts of the case? St. Leo did not pronounce, in that Council, a sentence, which was taken as one of infallible and unquestionable authority. His letter to Flavian was adopted by the Council, as a true exposition of Doctrine, because, tested by the Scriptures and the teaching of the Fathers, it was found to be in accordance with both ancient and Catholic teaching. It was not adopted without examination and discussion. When passages of it were questioned by the Bishops of Illyria and Palestine, they were confirmed by passages from the letter of Cyril; and the accordance of the

letter of Leo, with the Faith of Nice and Constantinople, was especially inquired into and asserted. The Council declared the letter to be in agreement with Scriptural and Catholic truth; and they put forth, in addition to it, a Formulary of Faith of their own; and to this formulary they appended, as approved by them, the letter of Leo. Their adoption of it, and the acceptance of their action by the Church, gave it Catholic Authority, and this letter of Leo appealed to the Scriptures, "to the voices of the prophets, to the Apostolic letters, and to the authority of the Evangelists," as well as to the Catholic Creed already and of old established, as the grounds of its definitions of Faith and Doctrine.

When the Epistles of Cyril to Nestorius, and to John of Antioch were read, the Council said,—

"Thus do we all believe; thus does the Pope Leo believe. Anathema to him that divides and him that confounds! This is the faith of Leo the Archbishop. Thus does Leo believe. Thus do Leo and Anatolius (Patriarch of Constantinople) believe. Thus do we all believe. As Cyril believed, so do we. Eternal be the memory of Cyril. Agreeably with the epistles of Cyril, do we also think. Thus did we believe. Thus do we now believe. Leo the Archbishop thus thinks, thus believes, thus has written."

And when the Epistle of Leo was read, because he was not present to speak in person, the Bishops, at its conclusion, exclaimed,—

"Thus do we all believe. Thus do the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who does not thus believe! Peter has uttered these words through Leo. Thus have the Apostles taught. Leo has taught truly and piously. Thus has Cyril taught. The teaching of Leo and Cyril is the same. Anathema to him who does not thus believe! This is the true faith. Thus do the orthodox think. This is the faith of the fathers. Why was not this read at Ephesus? This did Dioscorus withhold."

Most evident is it, that the Council laid no more stress upon the opinion of Leo, than upon that of Anatolius, living, or of Cyril, dead; and the teaching of all was received, because it was the Faith of the Fathers and of the Apostles. There was no such abjuring of *antiquity* then, as an essential constituent of Catholicity, as Dr. Newman, studying the Monophysite Con-

troversy in the light of the restricted Catholicity, which Rome maintains, saw in it. The Catholicity of Chalcedon embraced as well the "*Quod semper*," as the "*Quod ab omnibus*."

Here then is no Catholicity, but such as is recognized in the Church of England, whose assent to the action of this Council of Chalcedon, as to the other General Councils, is hearty and entire. That this Council meant to attribute no authority to the Bishop of Rome, but such as was due to his faithful annunciation of Scriptural and Ancient and Catholic truth, is evident from the Decree concerning the precedence due to the See of New Rome, which was so offensive to Leo and the Church of Rome.

The great point which struck Dr. Newman with so much force, in the history of the Council of Chalcedon, was its setting aside, as it seemed to him, of *antiquity* for a present Catholicity, as announced by St. Leo. He says his attention was called, by a friend, to the "palmary words of St. Augustine," quoted in an Article on the "Anglican Claim," by Bishop Wiseman in the Dublin Review. "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*." These words rung in his ears, and overcame him by their potency :—

" '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*;' they were words which went beyond the occasion of the Donatists: they applied to that of the Monophysites. They gave a cogency to the Article, (in the Review) which had escaped me at first. They decided ecclesiastical questions on a *simpler rule* than that of Antiquity; nay, St. Augustine was one of the prime oracles of Antiquity; here then Antiquity was deciding against itself. What a light was hereby thrown upon every controversy in the Church! not that, for the moment, the multitude may not falter in their judgment,—not that, in the Arian hurricane, Sees, more than can be numbered, did not bend before its fury, and fall off from St. Athanasius,—not that the crowd of Oriental Bishops did not need to be sustained during the contest by the voice and the eye of St. Leo; but that the deliberate judgment, in which the whole Church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and a final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede. Who can account for the impressions which are made on him? For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine, struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the 'Turn again Whittington' of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the 'Tolle, lege,—Tolle, lege,' of the child, which converted St. Augustine himself. '*Securus judicat*

orbis terrarum! By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized."

Now it is evident, from a recurrence to the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, that there was no such abjuring of Antiquity for a present, living Catholicity, as Dr. Newman discerned in its proceedings. He was taken captive by his imagination. That the impression was made upon his imagination, he himself admits. He says,—“After a while I got calm, and at length the vivid impression upon my imagination faded away.” But he had been looking at the history of the Church of the Fifth Century, through that telescope or magnifier, which, in these euphemistic terms, he speaks of as being used at Rome, to discern the whole scene of pale, faint, distant, Apostolic Christianity.

This *magnifier* is, however, a distorting medium, which does not rightly represent the facts of Primitive Christianity, and which brings into the field of vision, for those who look through it, appendages that do not belong to Apostolic Christianity at all.

We remark, in passing, that the admission of Dr. N., that his supposed discovery, in the fifth century, of the abjuring of antiquity for “a simpler rule,” was the discovery of the characteristic feature of the modern Church of Rome, is a fatal admission against that Church. It is a concession to the champions of the English Church of the grounds on which they have ever attacked the spurious Catholicity of Rome, and defended the genuine Catholicism of the English Church.

Though Dr. N. did not surrender himself, at once, to the control of this great historical fact which had dawned upon him, it never lost over him its influence, and it separated him forever from the *Via Media*, on which his feet had been planted. “However,” he says, “my new historical fact had, to a certain point, a logical force. Down had come the *Via Media*, as a definite theory or scheme, under the blows of St. Leo. My “Prophetical office” had come to pieces, not, indeed, as an argument against “Roman errors,” nor as against Protestantism, but as in behalf of England. I had no more a distinctive plea for Anglicanism, unless I would be a Monophysite.”

This blow, then, struck so powerfully upon his *imagination*, (for what he saw to be a fact, was no fact at all, in the light of rightly read history,) separated him forever from the Church of England, in his intellectual convictions. "I had no positive Anglican theory. I was very nearly a pure Protestant. Lutherans had a sort of theology; so had Calvinists; I had none." He was adrift upon the sea of doubt and uncertainty. But he had to seek a haven of rest and certainty. His idea of Catholicity was such as is embodied in the Church of Rome, which discards Antiquity as an essential part of Catholic testimony, because it claims to have, in itself, the present living, ever continuing power of rendering decisions infallibly true, upon points of Christian Faith and Practice. But there were obstacles which hindered Dr. N. from at once throwing himself into the embrace of Rome. He did not like the preaching of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints and Purgatory, instead of the Holy Trinity, and Heaven and Hell; and he did not like the "secular and political" conduct of the Church of Rome.

So he set himself to the work of seeing how much could be made of the Church of England, that is, how much Catholic truth (that is, *Roman Catholic*) was in the Church of England, and also how nearly the Church of England could be approximated in the "Catholic" truth allowed in her to be taught, and in her ritual, in "confraternities, particular devotions, reverence for the Blessed Virgin, prayers for the dead, beautiful churches, rich offerings to them and in them, monastic houses, and many other observances and institutions," to the Church of Rome. "This was," he says, his "*experimentum crucis*," "a trial of the Anglican Church, which it had never undergone before." "My tone was, this is necessary for us, and have it we must and will, and, if it tends to bring men to look less bitterly on the Church of Rome, so much the better." He wished, he says, p. 176, to make "fair trial how much the English Church will bear:"—

"I know it is a hazardous experiment,—like proving cannon. Yet we must not take it for granted that the metal will burst in the operation. It has borne, at various times, not to say at this time, a great

infusion of Catholic truth without damage. As to the result, viz, whether this process will not approximate the whole English Church, as a body, to Rome, that is nothing to us. For what we know, it may be the providential means of uniting the whole Church in one, without fresh schismatizing or use of private judgment."

Upon this passage he remarks himself:—

"Here I observe that, what was contemplated was the bursting of the *Catholicity* of the Anglican Church, that is, my *subjective idea* of that Church. Its bursting would not hurt her with the world, but would be a discovery that she was purely and essentially Protestant, and would be really the 'hoisting of the engineer with his own petar.' And this was the result."

Dr. Newman, then, by his own avowal, wished to engraft the Catholicity of Trent upon the Church of England, and to demonstrate, if the graft were not kindly received, that the Church of England had no true claims to be considered a branch of the Church Catholic. He discouraged, he says, the secession of *individuals* to the Church of Rome, till the experiment could be tried, whether the whole Church of England could not be made to move Romeward. This was his ambition and his effort, after the marvellous light which burst upon his imagination in the study of the Monophysite Controversy. "Such was about my state of mind, on the publication of Tract Ninety, in February, 1841."

We do not care, nor would the space allotted to us permit us, to go into an elaborate examination of the special pleading, by which Dr. Newman strives to shew, that the interpretation of the Articles, in a meaning avowedly different from that of their writers, was wholly justifiable. We have regarded Tract No. Ninety, from the day of its appearance, as an assertion of disloyalty, by its writer, to the Church of England, and his own avowals, in his *Apologia*, demonstrate fully the justice and correctness of that view. The position that the Decrees of Trent were not promulgated, when the Articles were published by authority, and that therefore the Articles could not have been meant to oppose the teachings of those Decrees, is a mere quibble. The Decrees of Trent were, undoubtedly, intended to enshrine, in guarded statements, which might be used for purposes of defensive controversy, the errors and usages

which had been engrafted upon Primitive and Apostolic Christianity, and so to adopt and not to reject those doctrines and practices. Now these doctrines and practices, which are so adopted by Trent, are rejected and condemned in the Articles of the Anglican Church and the fact that the Decrees of Trent were of later date than the Articles, does not disprove the fact that those Articles rejected much of the sum and substance of those Decrees.

And with regard to the non-natural sense, which is put upon the Articles in Tract Ninety, it is admitted that it was not the sense of the Composers of the Articles; not the sense, therefore, which they conveyed to the Convocation which adopted the Articles, and in which, therefore, receiving the Articles from the Framers, the Convocation adopted them. And surely, to put a sense upon them contrary to their plain meaning, upon such a quibble as that of the comparative dates of the Articles and of the Decrees of Trent, is neither right nor justifiable for those who have assented to the Articles, as the Church has received them. Language would cease to be of value, as the instrument by which solemn contracts are made, and solemn declaration suttered, if it could rightfully be so interpreted. Indeed, with Dr. N., his interpretations in No. Ninety were a game of words. "Two can play at that," was often in my mouth, when men of Protestant sentiments appealed to the Articles, Homilies, or Reformers; in the sense that, if they had a right to speak loud, I had both the liberty and the means of giving them "tit for tat." "How had I done worse than the Evangelical party, in their *ex animo* reception of the Services for Baptism, and Visitation of the Sick?" But did he think their "forced" interpretation right and allowable? Or is the Infidelity of Colenso, and of the Essays and Reviews, an allowable interpretation of the English formularies and Reformers?

While Dr. N. was enjoying a quasi and a premature triumph upon "the great point," that "the Tract had not been condemned," of which he "made much," he "received three blows, which broke him." The Ghost of Roman Catholicity came a second time to his surprised vision, in the Arian his-

tory, but, "in a far bolder shape" than it had come "in the Monophysite." He "had not observed it in 1832," for the very good reason, doubtless, that he was not then looking through that wonderful glass, through which Rome permits her disciples to view Apostolic Christianity. And, of course, the first imagination, which was magnified into a great historical fact, combined with the same phenomenon "in a bolder shape," became completely convincing, that Catholicism was not to be found in the Church of England.

"In the misery of this new unsettlement," "a second blow came upon me." His experience of the toleration, the non-condemnation of Tract Ninety, proved to have been short-lived and fallacious. The Bishops, one after another, began to charge against him. "They went on in this way, directing charges at me, for three whole years." At first, he intended to protest; and then, when informed that the Tracts for the Times had made some young person "a Catholic," and being asked to convert him back, he replied, by asserting that these conversions to Rome were not due to the Tracts,—

"But to those, who, instead of acknowledging such Anglican principles of theology and ecclesiastical polity as they contain, set themselves to oppose them." "If our Rulers speak either against the Tracts or not at all, if any number of them not only do not favor, but even do not suffer the principles contained in them, it is plain that our members may easily be persuaded either to give up those principles, or to give up the Church. If this state of things goes on, I mournfully prophesy, not one or two, but many secessions to the Church of Rome."

That is, if the Church of England, by her Bishops, will not approve, or admit within her bosom, the false and spurious Catholicity of the Church of Rome, we, who hold that Catholicity, will not remain in her Communion. Let her admit this uncongenial, unchristian element, on pain of losing our allegiance, if she refuses. How much the irritation occasioned by opposition to his disloyal teachings, and his disappointment in his efforts to imbue the Church of England with that disloyalty to true Catholicism, urged Mr. Newman on in his Rome-ward movement, is made apparent in this account of the second blow which came upon him in the summer of 1841.

"As if all this were not enough," there came the last and crushing blow, "the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric." Of this project he says himself,—“I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me ; which many think a great misfortune, and I, one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end.” And to what did it amount ? In the most extreme view that could be taken of it, it was outside of the Church of England, and did not change, in the least degree, the position which the Church of England had taken, in the time of her great Catholic Reformation, and which she had ever since maintained. It did not involve the surrender, as Dr. N. avers that it did, of a single particle of Catholic truth. It did not affect the Church of England in her position towards any branch of the Catholic Church, except as it was holding out the hand to the practical recognition, by her intercourse with the Oriental Church, of that living and beneficial communion, which there should be between all parts and portions of the Catholic Church of Christ. And yet it drove Dr. N. more closely towards that Church, whose policy is that of division and separation, of the erection of Altar against Altar, of the establishment of her Bishoprics, in *partibus*, among all branches of the Catholic Church, into which she can insert her wedge of schism ; towards that Church whose Trentine Decrees and Creed isolate her from all branches of the Church Catholic, and imprint upon her the stamp of schism, deeper than that of ancient Donatism, wherever she exists, in lands where she has a legitimate existence, as a corrupt Branch of the Catholic Church, or wherever she intrudes herself, with her adopted war-cry in Christendom, “Divide et impera.” This affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric, which has never done any good or harm except to Dr. Newman, attached him, by a stronger bond to the Church, whose Bishop, Liberius, falsifying his own convictions, signed an Arian or semi-Arian Creed, and so deprived, in the Nicene age itself, a Council, which Rome reveres as infallible, of that seal of its infallibility which Rome deems essential, and whose Pope, Honorius, was condemned by a General Council as a Monothelite ; to the Church, who, in her mission-

ary zeal, has not scrupled to compromise the Christian Faith, by foul admixtures with heathen superstition in India, for example, and in China, whose baptisms of the heathen have been the mere "putting away of the filth of the flesh," and whose missionary exertions have been more signalized, as the triumphs of secular power and science and commerce, than the planting, in truth and purity, of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour; more signalized by the exaltation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, than by the elevation of that One only Name, to which every knee shall bow and every tongue confess. Surely, this influence of the Jerusalem Bishopric upon Mr. Newman, illustrates the old and familiar adage of jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. It was straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel.

We have him, at length, to use his own expression, "from the end of 1841," "on his death-bed, as regards" his "membership with the Anglican Church." He tarried for a while in "Samaria," that is, he held it clear, (p. 193,) "that there was no call at all for an Anglican to leave his Church for Rome, though he did not believe his own to be part of the One Church:—and for this reason, because it was a fact, that the kingdom of Israel was cut off from the Temple, and yet its subjects, neither in a mass, nor as individuals, neither the multitudes on Mount Carmel, nor the Shunamite and her household, had any command given them, though miracles were displayed before them, to break off from their own people, and to submit themselves to Judah." In this phase of his religious history, he still recurs to the "vulnerable point," which St. Leo had found out for him in the Church of England, and shews how constantly that figment of imagination, which he had transmuted into a fact of history, was the impelling force driving him to Rome, as the only home of Catholic truth and life. But, of course, this miserable hovel of "Samaria" could not long shelter him. He had to overcome his repugnance to Romish Devotions to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, by the process of imagination, of looking through the Romish magnifying-glass, which has already been described.

How he got rid of his aversion to the political chicanery of

Rome, we are not informed, though the fact that Rome was "secular and political," rather than religious, would seem to be a sufficiently serious obstacle to union with her ;—but the way is easily smoothed and traversed for one, whose strong impulse of imagination was like that of Dr. Newman, and whose only idea of Catholicism had ever been, the restricted schismatical Catholicism of Rome ; he discovered that there was (p. 231) "more of evidence in Antiquity for the necessity of Unity, than for the Apostolical Succession ; for the Supremacy of the See of Rome, than for the Presence in the Eucharist ! for the practice of Invocation, than for certain books in the present Canon of Scripture, &c., &c.," and so, by the help of the all-embracing principle of development, he reached

"The concatenation of argument, by which the mind ascends from its first to its final religious idea ;" the solution of his sceptical career was reached ; he "came to the conclusion that there was no medium in true philosophy, between Atheism and Catholicity, and that a perfectly consistent mind, under those circumstances in which it finds itself here below, must embrace either the one or the other," and so he became "a Catholic by virtue of his believing in a God." He says, (p. 233) "I find great difficulty in fixing dates precisely ; but it must have been some way into 1844, before I thought not only that the Anglican Church was certainly wrong, but that Rome was right. Then I had nothing more to learn on the subject. How 'Samaria' faded away from my *imagination* I cannot tell, but it was gone," succeeded by another "*imagination*."

And so this victim of his own imagination, as he confesses himself to be, and this spirit, so long tossed upon the sea of his sceptical speculative inquiries and conclusions, at length found the rest which he sought, by submitting himself to the infallible direction of the Church into which he was received. And yet, after his assent to his "final religious idea," and his realization of that idea by reception into the Church of Rome, he says, "I was not conscious to myself, on my conversion, of any difference of thought or of temper from what I had before. I was not conscious of firmer faith in the fundamental truths of revelation, or of more self-command ; I had not more fervor ; but it was like coming into port after a rough sea ; and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption." The alternative, then, of "Atheism or Catholicity,"

does not seem to have been verified in Dr. N.'s experience. He took with him, to the Church of Rome, all the Christianity in faith, in temper, in fervor, in self-command, which he had, after being received into her bosom. His logical alternative, then, of Atheism or Catholicity, must have been another figment of his imagination; or a desperate resource for escaping from self-tormenting scepticism, by a complete surrender of his individual reason to the infallible authority which Rome pretends.

And yet, with this complete renunciation of Anglicanism, before he joined the Church of Rome, he tells us that he projected the "*Lives of the English Saints*," because he thought they "would be useful, as employing the minds of men who were in danger of running wild, bringing them from doctrine to history, and from speculation to fact;—again, as giving them an interest in the English soil, and the English Church, and, keeping them from seeking sympathy in Rome, as she is; and further, as seeking to promote the spread of right views." How this can be reconciled with ingenuousness, we confess ourselves unable to see. He would undertake a work to reconcile erring souls with what he then believed a falsity and a nonentity; he would spread, in this way, "right views," which he then did not hold to be right; unless he means by "right views," Romish, and not Anglican views. No wonder that when "the first of the Series got into print, the whole project broke down." "The engineer was hoisted with his own petar." The true character and tendency of the undertaking were disclosed, and were seen not to be the objects which the projector declared were the objects he had in view, in publishing the Series. This work, with the exception of the Book on Development, was the last work of Dr. N. in the English Church, and it was certainly very like the work of the Jesuit missionaries, who disguised themselves in England as Puritan preachers. And it may give us a key to the kind of argument which Dr. N. must have used, at Littlemore and elsewhere, to restrain persons from going to Rome, who were thitherward bound. "*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis*," may the Church of England say; save her from her friends, if her friends be such.

Dr. N.'s description of the closing scene, certainly does not fail in the dramatic power and effect by which his whole Narrative is marked :—

"Littlemore, October 8, 1845.—I am this night expecting Father Dominic, the Passionist, who, from his youth, has been led to have distinct and direct thoughts, first of the countries of the North, then of England. After thirty years (almost) waiting, he was, without his own act, sent here. But he has had little to do with conversions. I saw him here for a few minutes on St. John Baptist's day, last year. He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask of him admission into the one Fold of Christ. * * * P. S.—This will not go till all is over. Of course it requires no answer."

If we have given the clear account we have wished to do of Dr. N.'s Romeward movement and Romish Conversion, little need be added to evince the small weight which it has, as against England and in favor of Rome. Romish sympathy, for years, fortified by a strongly imaginative interpretation of the history of the Church which utterly perverted the real facts of that history, irritation at the opposition which he found in introducing Romanism into the English Church, a spirit wearied with the vexing subtlety of its own speculations, and the desperate conclusion at last, for relief to this inquietude, that there was no middle ground between Atheism and Romanism,—these are the elements of his progress and his conversion, as he himself details them. And surely, for such reasons as these, the Church of England has no occasion to review the grounds on which her champions, whom Dr. N., in a manner the most false and dastardly accuses of fostering Romish sympathies, have defended her impregnable position of true Catholicity against the pretentious, but false and narrow, Catholicity of Rome. Indeed, Dr. N. fairly admits that these grounds are unassailable, when he abandons the plea of antiquity in behalf of Rome. If such reasons as he gives are the strong ones for joining the Church of Rome, we feel sure that those who are led by reason, and not by sympathy and imagination, will not find their way to her fold, which Dr. N. arrogantly characterizes as "the one fold of Christ."

The prominent men who were with Dr. N. in the incipency of the Oxford movement, are still doing true and noble service

in the Church of England. Dr. Pusey, who could not be made to take the hints which Dr. N. gave him about his Romeward tendencies, because such tendencies were alien to his spirit; in his breasting of the tide of Rationalism and Infidelity, as it seeks entrance into the Church herself; in his profound and learned and spiritual Commentaries on Holy Scripture; and in his searching Sermons, is giving the best of all proofs of the deep and pure Christianity which is nurtured in the Church of England. And of John Keble we need not speak; whose praise is in all the Churches, and whose music vibrates with divine and inspiring power in thousands and thousands of Christian souls. Mr. Newman's career illustrates one phase of the movement, which was a divergence from its true meaning and original intention. He speaks, p. 201, of "this new party," with which he allied himself, being separated, by his Romeward tendencies, from his "old and true friends," who "were in trouble" about him. Of these new men, he says, that they "cut into the original movement, at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in its own direction." With them he sympathized and worked. But, notwithstanding this divergence and perversion,—though the Oxford party happily no longer exists,—the elements of Catholic truth and life which it started into action, are diffusing themselves for good in all portions of the world-wide Church of England.

Dr. Newman passed through the English Church like a bird of brilliant plumage and rapid flight across the face of the sun; or like a phantom ship, emitting portentous light from stem to stern, over the surface of the sea, in the darkness of the night. His sceptical turn of mind, his splendid theorizing, his changes of position, almost too rapid to be followed, have deprived of the influence which they deserve, some of his best works in the Church of England. And, in the Church of Rome, the insecurity, it may be, of the grounds which attached him to that Church, the shifting sands of development upon which he stands; his hard effort to reconcile the Romish claim of infallibility with the free and legitimate exercise of human reason, his restless spirit of speculation, his want of

practical assent to tenets which he has formally acknowledged, which he receives, as he says, with blind and implicit faith, perhaps, too, his assignment of the infallibility of Rome to "the Pope in Ecumenical Council," as "its normal seat," which removes the foundation of the pet dogma of Rome's modern infallibility,—the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary,—have withheld from him that influence and position which his genius, his talent, and his religious devotion would have secured him. He is one of the comets of our human history, and not a star, shedding its steady and benignant radiance in the sky of evening.

But he has found a home, he avers, of perfect religious rest and satisfaction. The implicit submission of such a mind as his to the infallible dicta of Rome, in what she has pronounced, and what she shall still pronounce,—and that, not only "on religious questions," but "on opinions in secular matters which bear upon religion, on matters of philosophy, of science, of literature, of history,"—is certainly a phenomenon which may excite our attention and our wonder; and can only be accounted for by the strong desire which we may believe him to have felt, and which appears from his own narrative, to find some protection from the restless beatings of his speculative, perturbed spirit against itself.

He expresses in his Book a willingness to be at peace with the Church of England, as fulfilling, for the nonce, the mission of a half-way house between Rome and Infidelity. But this peace, he says, is an "armed truce," and this position he assumes in behalf of the Romish Church in England, which, in the reign of Elizabeth, was born in ecclesiastical secession and political treason and rebellion, sanctioned and recommended by her sovereign Pontiff, which then erected her altars against altar in a clearly established branch of the Catholic Church, and, in our own day, has converted this missionary aggression into a schismatical establishment within the domain of the English Church. Thus has she violated the first principles of the Episcopacy of the Church, and subjected herself to the plain anathemas of the Ancient General Councils, which she herself recognizes.

Dr. Newman's appreciation of historical truth, his method of historical investigation, his blind and perfect submission of his judgment to the See of Rome, and the spirit which he cherishes towards the Church of England, to whom he cannot help attributing, nevertheless, the Christian Faith that he holds, are strikingly expressed by him on pages 320, 321, 322. Speaking of the completeness of the disappearance from his field of view, of the Churchly position of the English Church, he says :—

“I went by, and lo! it was gone; I sought it, but its place could nowhere be found; and nothing can bring it back to me. And, as to its possession of an Episcopal succession from the time of the Apostles,—well, it may have it, *and if the Holy See ever so decided, I will believe it*, as being the decision of a higher judgment than my own; but for myself, I must have St. Philip's gift, who saw the sacerdotal character on the forehead of a gayly attired youngster, before I can by my own wit acquiesce in it, for antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts.”

We are willing to leave the critical discernment, the knowledge of history, the good taste, and the good feeling of this passage, to speak for themselves. It is one of the saddest exhibitions of the sorcery of Rome, to see it thus transforming the spirits, whose birthright was in the English Church, and whose training was in her noble Universities. “Antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts;” a marvellous assertion, as against the Episcopal Succession in England, with the “visible facts” before him, of the heresies, the schisms, the political intrigues, the violence and crime and evil living, which are found so abundantly in the Episcopal Succession of Rome. Did Dr. N. remember the charges of the English Bishops against his Romanizing in the English Church, when he wrote this flippant aspersion upon the Episcopal Succession of England? This passage is alike remarkable for the scornful feeling which it exhibits towards the English Church, and for the unparallelled method of antiquarian research which it suggests.

The Catholicity of England, and the Catholicity of Rome! “Look here upon this picture, and on this.” England, holding the whole of the Catholic Faith, with Rome and with Constan-

tinople, worshipping with the Liturgies, which are the legacy of the Ancient Catholic Church, defending and conserving the Divine Depositum committed to her, against all the recurring attacks of Romanism and Rationalism; adapting herself, without compromising her Christianity,—as Dr. N. fairly confesses the Church of Rome does not, and as the Pope's Encyclical Letter shews that she does not,—to the advancing Science and knowledge of the world; becoming thus, in a true Apostolic sense, all things to all men and all ages; holding out the right hand of fellowship, with these terms of Catholic Communion, to all the Church in all the world, spreading the light of a pure Christianity in all parts of the vast dominion, upon which the sun never sets, and thus making her Catholicity conterminous with the world; going forth, in the name of her Lord, conquering and to conquer, with the weapons of spiritual, and not of carnal warfare!—and Rome, holding up her Creed of Trent, as the emblem of her Catholicity, which all Christendom, besides herself, rejects; sending forth her missions to divide, and not to unite; intruding, remorselessly, upon the domain of branches of the Church more true, in their inheritance of Catholic Christianity, than herself, and even, in this year of Grace, in the Encyclical Letter of her sovereign pontiff, issued on the anniversary of the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, the anniversary which marks her latest, new, unwarranted, uncatholic addition to the Catholic Creed, assigning controlling power to the mediation of the Virgin Mary, over the mediation of the "Sovereign Master;" claiming for herself unlimited control over the consciences and the affairs of men, and over the individual exercise of human reason; claiming that violations of sacred law should be punished by temporal penalties; claiming temporal power as an adjunct of her sovereignty; and anathematizing all who do not, in these high assumptions, accord to her that which she claims!

Truly, which Catholicity is the one reflected from the mirror of the ancient Catholic Church, cannot be matter of doubt. The Catholicity of Rome of to-day, was one which Gregory the First, her greatest Bishop, plainly repudiated and rebuked;

it is a Catholicity, against whose spuriousness and tyrannical power, there is now a strong uprising of feeling and injured Christian freedom, in the Church of Rome herself, of which such books as *Le Maudit*, and *La Religieuse*, and such writings as those of Hirscher, of Laborde, and of Passaglia, are the witness. * Only the imagination of Dr. N. could see the Catholicity of Trent reflected from the mirrors of Nicæa, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon.

With Dr. N., we say,—but not standing in the light of a soul-deluding imagination,—“Be my soul with the Saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God! anathema to a whole tribe of Gregorys, (except Gregory the Great, who claimed no precedence for the See of Rome, over those of Antioch and Alexandria, and who rejected the title of Universal Pope, as savoring of the pride of Lucifer,) of Innocents and Bonifaces; perish the names of Baronius, of Bellarmine, of Petavius, of Harding, of Fisher, of Moehler, and of Newman himself, ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue.” Those whose souls have been penetrated and pervaded by the harmonies of true Catholicity, which come down to us from the days of the Church, in the first five centuries of her existence, will scarcely be charmed by the meretricious and Sirenian minstrelsy of Rome.

ART. II.—CHURCH WORK IN LARGE CITIES.

CITIES embrace "all sorts and conditions of men;" thus they furnish the largest and most fitting field for the work of the Gospel and the Church. The Protestant Episcopal Church would seem to have all needful appliances for this work;—an open Bible, an Apostolic Ministry, and Worship both reverent and comprehensive. How is it, then, that while she gathers the rich, the refined, and the *would-be-respectable*, she yet fails, in a great degree, to win those to whom Christ's personal ministry especially commended itself? The common people heard *Him* gladly; publicans and sinners resorted unto *Him*; *He* went forth to seek and to save them that were lost.

Of the independent working men, who with their families form much the most numerous element, what proportion habitually frequent our city Churches? Is not their absence an admitted, we had almost said, an accepted fact? In all of our large cities it is the same. In Charleston and Savannah, in Richmond and New Orleans, who has gathered in the servants, whether bond or free? In the country, on plantations where the master and his family worshipped with their dependents, where they assisted in teaching and watching over the sick and the whole, and acted out in various ways the principles of true Christian fellowship, our mission as dispensers of Christ's Grace has been more owned. But in cities, the laborer and his family to a great extent shun, as if by instinct, the services of the Church.

For the children of working people, our Church has done much. In her Sunday and Parish Schools, in her Sewing and Night Schools, and by her Bible Classes, she has sown the precious seed. Yet how few, as they grow up, accept her as their spiritual mother! How many of the boys in these schools attend, as they become older, the worship, or join the Communion of the Church? Their voluntary presence in our public assemblies after they reach the age of sixteen,—is it not the exception rather than the rule? Our people give money for

the relief of indigence. Do they give, at all in the same proportion, their time, their active, loving sympathy, and help? And does not mere almsgiving operate, as from the nature of things it must, in impairing self-respect and self-help, inducing sloth and improvidence, and thus fostering the great sore of the body politic—*pauperism and crime*?

In too many of our Churches in cities and large towns, few *working people* frequent them, unless it be those who look for charity, or for employment and patronage, from their fellow worshippers. From such associates, and the imputations which they cause, the most independent and self-respecting among them naturally shrink. And if there is a trait in our laboring classes for which we should honor them, and which we should be slow to have impaired, it is their dread of dependence, their horror of being *pauperized*. In a young country like ours, where the means of subsistence are so ample and so easily compassed, if we find idleness, poverty and vice increasing, it must be because the remedial power of Christ's Gospel and Church has not been wisely or efficiently applied. Intemperance is often referred to as the great cause of such evils among working people; and to cut off dram shops and liquor dealing as its prolific source, is thought to be the one thing needful. But Intemperance often has a deeper source. It is not so much the love of liquor, as the love of companionship and recreation, that leads most men to indulgence. Let that companionship be supplied by the Brotherhood of Christ; let the Church, which is the Body, study the social needs and the physical and mental cravings of toil-worn men and women; let her supply the varying and manifold refreshment which their complex nature demands; and let all this be plied with loving, thoughtful, untiring sympathy, and we shall hear less of the fascinations of the bottle or the ravages of the Drinking Saloon.

To those who think to excuse themselves from working in Christ's vineyard, by charging upon liquor venders all the censure, we say, examine at their work, or at their homes, men whose lot is labor. It will be found that although a very large majority are free from the vice of intemperance, yet very few of these sober men have been savingly reached by the Christian

Church. Until she learns the Divine means of compelling these men to come to the marriage feast, it behooves her children to consider well their obligations to their less favored brethren.

Inasmuch, then, as there must be defects in our Church work, as carried on in large cities and among working people, it is our special object at this time to endeavor to discover and unfold them. God provides His Church with all needed truth and Grace. To His people, He leaves the selection and use of means and agents, by which such truth and Grace are to be brought to the hearts, and made influential over the lives of men. We assume the native depravity of human nature ; but we suppose that such depravity indisposes the child, for example, to submit to the authority of its earthly parent, as well as of its Heavenly Father ; and we presume also that the same means which, in the earthly family, prove successful or unsuccessful in winning affection and obedience, will, in the Divine Household, the Church, not be attended by different results.

The use of intelligent instruction and suitable training, is admitted to be quite as requisite in the Church, to draw down the blessing of God upon the child, as it is in the family. Although parents have evident advantages over the Church, in the love naturally generated by the sensible dependence of their children upon them, and in their Divine authority to punish, yet they fail utterly in securing loving obedience, whenever they pursue the same course with their children, that the Church does with the children of the laboring class. In a household, where children's tastes are consulted in the nursery, but where parents confine their intercourse to formal interviews, rarely reaching the mind and never the heart of their children, can God's Grace be fairly claimed to keep such boys under the parental roof, when they reach maturity or acquire independence ? If they become prodigals, will they ever long to return to such a home ? or, if their animal instincts drive them there through fear of starvation, will not the formal bearing of such unnatural parents chill any determination they may have formed to ask forgiveness ? The truth of this must be apparent to all. For we know that where even the loving child of

affectionate parents is wholly in the wrong, a cold, unsympathizing manner manifested by its parents may check a penitential feeling, and make it impossible, without a miracle of Grace, for the child to ask forgiveness and sue for restoration. May we not then, through the aid of these analogies, find some of the causes that have led many baptized children to drift far away from the moorings which God has provided, and finally to make shipwreck of their souls ?

1st. The first cause that we will specify, is the neglect, on the part of Ministers and Christian people, to teach the God-fathers and Godmothers, especially of the working classes, their duty ; and to supervise them in the great and difficult task that they assume. Usually little instruction is given to them, except reading the Baptismal Service in the Church. Neither is it customary to make any record of their residence, so that they and their little ones may be watched over at their homes. In the working class, parents are usually the sponsors, and many of them visit the Church only on these Baptismal occasions, satisfying their conscience with the bare performance of the sacred rite, neglecting such means as God has promised to bless. Instead of committing their little ones to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, they seem rather to have surrendered them to the world, the flesh and the devil. As they obtain by Baptism the right to claim from the Church a Christian burial for their children, even when they have grown up in the grossest violation of God's laws, so they seem to think, if they think at all, that by some magical influence the Baptismal rite is to work their salvation at last. By admitting it to Baptism, the Church seems, to the minds of many ignorant parents, to have assumed the responsibility of drawing down God's blessing on the soul of the child, even though it be not followed by careful instruction and nurture, and thus a duty that might otherwise press heavily upon the conscience, is little accounted of. Frequently, too, even the fact of the Baptism is not even communicated to the child, either the foreign born or the native, and they subsequently are obliged to write home to learn if they have been "Christened !" If any parents are thus lulled into a false security, and the Church is not fulfilling the promise

that "when my father and my mother forsake me then the Lord will take me up," surely there is a fearful defect that should be repaired.

2d. We find another defect, in the imperfect connection between the Sunday Schools and the Public Services of the Church. Infant Schools are popular with most children, and Sunday Schools and Bible Classes are measurably so, when love to the teacher is cultivated, and the social tastes of the children are satisfied. Usually, however, instead of Sunday Schools performing their office by preparing children to love the Church, a permanent dislike is rather produced, inasmuch as children are often made happy in the School, whilst they are constrained and unhappy in the Church at Public Worship. Parents are at great pains to accommodate their households to the requirements of children at their various ages, as the gardener cares tenderly and successfully for his delicate plants until they are acclimated. The Christian Church, however, in her Public Worship, inhumanly neglects the children of the working class ; for they are usually forced on Sundays into lofts or corners, and compelled to silence during Services prepared mainly to suit the tastes of cultivated and refined adults. They are told, that the Minister is a shepherd whom Jesus has sent to feed and watch over His lambs and sheep ; yet they do not feel the shepherd's care, either in the public teachings, or the scoldings that follow any restlessness on their part. They are told that they should attend Church from principle ; yet is it not natural, that unless accompanied by parents, or by teachers whom they have learned to love, and when force is required to compel them to attend these public services, that a permanent dislike to the Church and its Ministers should thus be early formed ? During a period of superstitious ignorance, God bore with a Church that treated His lambs so unnaturally, for men were then taught to rely on miraculous grace ; but surely it is unpardonable now, when we see the Holy Spirit steadily working through means intelligently used.

3d. We come now to speak of what has been called "The Missing Link." The power and range of the modern pulpit have been fully tested, especially in our large cities, where the

most gifted preachers are to be found. Public preaching accomplishes much, very much, with a certain class ; but the great majority of the people cannot be brought within its reach, by any appliances now in general use. When the farmer discovers that his field of over-ripe grain is beaten down and tangled, he does not abandon it, or yield to supineness. He meets the exigency promptly and intelligently, with means adapted to the end. As the modern labor-saving machine could not reach down to the fallen grain, he summons all the available force, without regard to age or sex ; and these bending low to their work, with the aid of primitive sickles and the fingers of little gleaners, securely garner the precious grain. Shall the Church, by continuing to rely solely, or mainly, on the Pulpit and Liturgy, allow the souls of the laboring population in the large cities of this Republic to be ruined, merely because they will not voluntarily attend our public Services ; when God has assured us that it is not His will that one of them should perish ?

Much has been attempted for the benefit of this class of people ; yet the result shows that there has been a defect, either in the radical principle on which these efforts were founded, or in the application. The moral and spiritual malady has continued to increase with alarming rapidity. Surely this could not have been the case, if appropriate means of Grace had been brought to bear on each individual ; as the Holy Spirit is ever ready to bless such means, when prayerfully, intelligently, and perseveringly used. Most of us satisfy our consciences for the present, by relying on the ordinary routine of public services ; throwing upon God the responsibility of dispensing converting and sanctifying grace. Yet as Christianity is now an established fact, man's agency is the rule, and a miraculous influence is the exception. A few persons, both Clerical and Lay, have, like Caleb and Joshua, spied out the land, and they assure us, by their own experience, that God is ready to work with Christian people if they have faith to believe His promises. They report, that even men so hardened or besotted as to be insensible to appeals made by a merciful God through nature, providence and revelation, can yet be successfully reached, through

human messengers of mercy ; and that these men evince deep gratitude for a tender sympathizing interest in their spiritual welfare, as well as for acts of self-denying love performed in Christ's name.

Surely this is *the Missing Link*, by which the great mass of careless and sinful persons in our large cities are to be reached and drawn to Christ. In these times, God makes His last and strongest appeal (through the Atoning Sacrifice) to the power of human sympathy, to man's *gratitude*, an instinctive spring of love which he always possesses, and one that invariably bursts forth and flows freely when it is rightly reached. The most degraded man shows his divine original and his peculiar fitness, by the Holy Spirit's aid, to apprehend and profit by the humanized love of God ; evincing, even in his deepest debasement, that he is capable of appreciating motives, and of tracing up to its source every act of loving kindness. As the Holy Spirit flows most freely through appropriate channels, so is the Church bound to use the human heart, when the emotional nature can only thus be awakened to realize the love of Christ.

An analogy may be found, in the similarity between growth in the vegetable kingdom, and the development of spiritual life in man. Both owe their vitalizing power, solely and unremittingly, to the gift of God, yet both are, ordinarily, equally dependent upon the intelligent use of means. As in the tree, whose leaves have been nipped by the frost, destroyed by the worm, or stripped by the wind, there is a series of undeveloped buds reserved by God to perpetuate the vegetable kingdom ; and as the lost leaves are by the affluence of God's providence replaced by these buds ; so, in man, who has impaired, or even destroyed his first religious impressions, there still remain deep-seated germs of a higher life, that are rarely developed except by Divine power acting through some human instrumentality. The value of this human agency is further illustrated by plants whose powers of growth are so enfeebled that they are only perpetuated by placing slips in moist unnutritious sand, and when their delicate rootlets are formed, transplanting them into light vegetable mould with still richer soil beneath. The

frail plant, by this tender care, becomes so thoroughly rooted and grounded in the underlying nutritious soil, that unsheltered it successfully contends with the elements, buds and blooms and brings its fruit to perfection. So it is with many men, who, from neglect or actual transgression, become so enfeebled in moral perceptions and capacities, that it seems impossible for them to apprehend spiritual truths, until their powers are awakened and drawn out, by acts of kindness, or the influence of sympathizing love. With this aid, they readily apprehend the human love of Jesus ; and through it, reaching the Divine, they become firm in the Faith, and under such watchful care they also bear fruit by winning other souls to Christ. In such persons, gratitude to the agent almost invariably precedes the manifestation of any love to Jesus, Who stirred up and sent forth the man or woman to prepare the way for His entrance into the heart.

We have most reliable testimony from Clergymen and Lay workers, both male and female, that in their varied experience in the dwellings of mechanics and other working people, as well as in the hovel, and in our Public Institutions, intelligent, persevering, prayerful, sympathizing, personal, Christian ministrations are almost invariably well received and abundantly blessed of God. Here is "the Missing Link." The Minister is welcomed to the house of the working man, when he calls as a brother seeking a brother's welfare ; and when he is as affable as a layman is obliged to be, his visits are with few exceptions preferred. It is also becoming apparent to every observant Christian Philanthropist, that through the extension of the pastoral department of the Ministry alone, can we successfully reach the great majority of the people in our large cities. The character of our Liturgical system renders a great amount of private instruction and other personal ministrations necessary to draw working people to the Church ; and ten times as much pastoral supervision is required to promote their Christian steadfastness, as is needed by educated persons whose surroundings are favorable to religion. A man, with four-fifths or nine-tenths of his associates exerting an hourly influence unfavorable to Christianity, is certainly in need of close pasto-

ral supervision. Add to this, the disheartening effect of an occasional yielding to bad habits during moments of excitement; the jealousies and antipathies so prevalent among the uneducated; their occasional detention from Church through the need of suitable clothing; the jading effect of six days of toil and the exactions of some housekeepers and other employers for Sunday work. These, with their frequent removals and other constant hindrances, must satisfy every person familiar with the subject, that working men can only be retained in a living connection with the Church, by constant Christian oversight and human sympathy.

Women of the working class also require equal supervision; as their home cares and duties induce carelessness and a neglect of public worship, even by intelligent and earnest Communicants, unless they are counselled, encouraged or stimulated by frequent visits from the Pastor or older mature Christians. In our large cities, also, very few manly, healthy, independent lads can be kept in Communion with the Church, without constant supervision by Pastor or teacher; as they are usually obliged to contend against the adverse influence and example of father, master, workfellow and playmate. And so, without constant Christian oversight, such young men are almost irresistibly drawn by their desire for a pleasurable reaction from toil, into sensual gratifications which too often become a soul-destroying habit. As the population of our large cities becomes more dense, all these temptations will increase and grow more virulent. The Church, not exercising a mother's watchful care, has already allowed a host of young men and women to be led astray by the tempter; and unless some plan can be devised by which the habits of laboring people can be faithfully and affectionately watched over, observation and experience forbid us from expecting that many of them can be kept in communion with the Church, even when by training, affliction, or by personal solicitation, they are induced to attend its public Services.

We may not reasonably look for so great an increase in the number of experienced Ministers as will enable the Church to enter fully upon this field, and to work it successfully. The

increasing size of our city Churches, the exacting demand for carefully prepared Sermons, the multiform duties which are now laid upon our better class of Clergy,—all this almost forbids us to hope that the Clergy can ever meet this call for constant parochial personal labor among the poor. The restoration of the primitive Diaconate would be one great step in the right direction, but for this we cannot and need not wait. We are fortunate in having already an incomparable parochial and Liturgical system, enabling the Church to extend indefinitely and safely its pastoral department, by the coöperation of Christian laymen and women. Here, again we say, we have “the Missing Link,” the power of Christian sympathy. The divine authority of the Ministry being so generally acknowledged, there is little fear of any loss of its proper influence by the free use of lay-coöperation in all things not reserved exclusively for the Minister. The Clergy of the Church in this country have the highest claims for such aid. The Laity already have their appropriate, Scriptural, primitive place in the Councils of the Church. They are in reality members of the Body of Christ. As such they have their proper functions to discharge. A healthy condition of the whole body requires that no member shall be dead with paralysis or palsied by constant disuse. The New Testament gives us no such picture of the Primitive Church. Even the Roman Catholic Church finds something for every body to do. John Wesley, himself a High Churchman, set every body to work. With us, the great mass of our intelligent, wealthy, influential lay-men and lay-women are satisfied with an hour and a half at Church on a pleasant Sunday morning, and then wonder that the Church does not prosper among the people! Here is the greatest hindrance in developing the true missionary character of the Church, that so many of our leading laymen stand aloof from every thing like Church work. Too often they manifest open or secret opposition to every effort to benefit the souls of working people by drawing them to the Church, although they are sometimes willing to contribute freely to supply the wants of their bodies, and perhaps to maintain a Chapel where they will not have any contact with them. It is a subject of profound gratitude to

God that an improvement in this respect has already begun. There is an earnest inquiry on the part of Bishops, Clergy and Laity, how best to reach and draw into the family of Christ all sorts and conditions of men. When we become as ardent in inciting Christian people to aid in upholding and extending the Divine Government, as we are now in claiming support for a human government, surely personal service and means will not be withheld.

Instead of pursuing this train of remark further, it may be more profitable to present a sketch of the working system of the Church as now carried on in several city parishes.

We will suppose a minister remarkable rather for piety and practical common sense, than for extraordinary eloquence, called to a city parish. Before he accepted the call, he obtained a conference with the representative men and women of the parish, securing from them their pledge for cordial coöperation by personal service. When he entered upon his duties, instead of publicly proclaiming what he meant to do, he sought private interviews with each person whom he thought likely to object to an extension of missionary work in the parish. Learning their views, he showed them how far his coincided; and after praying with them, instead of referring to differences of opinion, he enlisted each one in some duty that accorded best with his or her own inclinations. A special field of labor was assigned to each intelligent, mature Christian; the Rector at first accompanying them, for the double purpose of learning himself, and imparting instruction to them.

He determined to set no machinery in motion without thoroughly understanding its operations, that he might be able to guide and control it under all circumstances. A certain class of persons, who, from their peculiar views were unwilling to engage in any other work, he trained to be intelligent God-fathers and God-mothers for the children of the working class who were brought to Baptism. Through the aid of the Schools, they gained access to the houses, and loaned or read to parents books selected by the Rector, and instructed them in the Baptismal Service. This committee of sponsors watched over the children, brought them to the Parish and Sunday Schools,

aided the parents in their proper training, and when they removed their residence, induced them to connect themselves with some other parish.

A Sewing or Industrial School was established, in which poor girls were instructed, and interested in the Church ; and a number of young ladies here, as teachers, first learned the true way of doing good. Through this agency, the Sunday School was abundantly supplied with both teachers and scholars, and the houses of the working people were cordially opened to Christian visitors. Although Parish Schools were established for the smaller children, and Night Schools for those who worked for maintenance, yet few of their parents could be drawn to either of the stated public Services. It was soon found necessary to adopt other means by which to reach the adults. With the assistance of an intelligent Christian woman, a week Night Meeting for mothers was organized ; and by the gradual addition of other workers, it became a most effective auxiliary in reaching the hearts and homes of this neglected class, and drawing them steadily to Church.

The men and lads were with much difficulty drawn into classes by cultivated and sympathizing teachers. Still, from want of familiarity with the Service, and their dislike to the free pews provided for them, they could rarely be induced to attend public worship. The Rector was also pained to find that the boys of the Sunday School were forced to attend Church, by the penalty of being dismissed from the School ; and that their misbehavior during divine Service occasioned much annoyance to their teachers and to all in the vicinity of the Sunday School gallery. He soon became convinced that, unless parents and children could worship together, and take pleasure in the Services, neither permanency nor efficiency could be given to the missionary work of the parish. Although he knew that the full requirements of the Gospel could only be met by the abandonment of the system of renting pews, yet his practical common sense enabled him to perceive that the supporters of the Church were far from being prepared for such a change.

Having stated his difficulties privately to those who would

otherwise have been the chief objectors, his proposal for a division of the Morning Service was acceded to with much cordiality. After thorough visiting by all his co-workers, and training a large choir composed of adults and children of the working class, he opened the Church at nine o'clock for a free Service. Each Sunday School teacher was expected to be present with his or her class, and the morning session of the School was dispensed with. Every child having been trained to act as a missionary, many of their parents and older brothers and sisters were brought, who had not been in the habit of attending Church. This Service was commenced in the Chapel or Sunday School room, but as the congregation steadily grew, it was soon found necessary to hold it in the Church. At the close of the Service, a lending Library for adults was opened in an adjoining room, and the children were taken into the Sunday School room by their teachers to receive books, so as to leave the afternoon session of the School free from the customary annoyance produced by the library. The Second Service was held at eleven o'clock, when the pew-renters occupied their accustomed seats, and the Rector preached his carefully written sermon, the substance of which he had, in colloquial phrases, already given at the early Service. Sunday afternoon was chiefly occupied with Schools and Bible Classes, and during part of the year, all assembled in the Church for Evening Prayer. Through the rest of the season the Church was opened at night, when provision was made for those who usually attended the early Service. Although the congregation was more than doubled, yet the minister was not overtaxed, as he found great relief in the assistance of his trained co-workers, who reported to him statedly, and conferred with him freely.

Christians, whose gratitude to a Crucified Saviour had decreased, because it had not been allowed the appropriate exercise indicated in the Gospel, now grew in grace and in happiness by working for Christ. At first very few *men* were willing to assist the Rector by giving personal service, owing, as they said, to their exhausting business labors, but really (as their minister afterward discovered) to the habit of self-indulgence caused by a defect in their early training; and, most of all, to

a want of true love to Christ. The most valuable women did not volunteer for the work, their native diffidence holding them back, until by aid of simple, specific duties, they were induced to exercise powers which they were before unconscious of possessing. The Rector also established a training School, in which he instructed his co-workers in the principles of teaching and visiting.

With such varied and efficient ministrations, almost no case among the working classes was found "too hard for the Lord." Where the habit of self-indulgence had been formed, help from without was freely proffered; and thus the frail ones were stayed up until they acquired needed strength. As self-respect and self-support were encouraged instead of a feeling of dependence, and as the more fortunate of the working people were taught to assist the weak, Dorcas and other similar Societies were dispensed with. Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods were formed, to render mutual support in time of sickness, and all this bound the hearts of the people more and more closely to the Church.

The following extract from a private diary will form an appropriate conclusion to this Article. It is a simple story, but it beautifully illustrates the mode by which the Church can reach and win all sorts and conditions of men.

"Visiting one day in — Street, I stopped to talk to two men sitting on a doorstep. They were father and son; and I soon found that they had children in our Sunday School. I talked a little about the children, and said I hoped to see the parents soon in Church with them. 'I rather think not,' was the reply of the younger; while the elder laughed and said, 'We have other things to do on Sundays; we have to work in the brick yards part of the day, and other things beside Church-going.' It was very late, and I had to leave them, having first said that if they would allow me to come some Sunday and see them, I would be very glad. 'As you like about that.'

"The next Sunday I went. Both men were out. I went to the kitchen, and sat with H.'s wife, and inferred from what she said that H. had gone out to avoid me. One of the children came in and said, 'Father is on the doorstep.' I passed through the house and opened the front door immediately behind him. I confess my heart failed me when he looked coldly up and scarcely nodded his head. After a few words, I said, 'Why, H., you are not so hospitable as most of my friends in this neighborhood; you have not asked me to sit down.' 'Well, won't you sit down?' I smiled and said, 'Not on the doorstep.'

‘Well, come in, then.’ He came in, quite disarmed by my good nature, gave me the best chair, and was very civil. I talked of the weather and brick-making, interesting him by my questions as to the making of bricks, the kind of soil used, &c., &c.

“*This I think gave him a feeling of elevation, for he learned that I was ignorant of much that he knew.*” Then I talked of the Sunday School, the regular attendance and good behavior of his children; then as to Church-going, why did he not go? ‘I don’t feel like it; don’t care for it.’ ‘Do you never pray?’ ‘Never.’ ‘H., do you think you are living the life you ought to live?’ ‘Well, I am living as well as most of my neighbors; may be better than some; I am a moral man, and I take care of myself and my children.’ ‘Take care of your children by providing for them, you mean?’ ‘No, I make them do what is right; I send them to Sunday School, and never allow them to go to bed without saying their prayers.’ ‘All right,’ I said, ‘I suppose you have no need to pray yourself? You have no sins to confess and ask forgiveness for, as they have?—nothing to thank God for, either?’ ‘Oh, I won’t say that; but I don’t bother myself about those things?’ ‘Do you think religion makes people happier in this world?’ ‘Oh, there is no doubt of that.’ ‘Do you think Jesus has ever invited you to come and give your heart to Him?’ ‘I don’t know that He ever has.’ ‘Well, He invites you to-day by my mouth; ‘Look unto me and be ye saved;’ ‘Come unto me all ye that labor,’ &c., &c.’

“He seemed more and more inclined to talk; while his little boy, three years old, who had stolen into the room, was nestling in his father’s lap, and had his arms around his neck. ‘You seem to love that child much.’ ‘Yes, he is my only boy.’ ‘And he seems to love you.’ ‘I should think he did.’ ‘Well, H., how would you feel if, by and by, when he grows up, he should every day do what you told him not to do; try to injure you when he could; hear you abused without taking your part; and should pass days and weeks without speaking to you?’

“He drew the little one closer to his bosom, and with emotion said, ‘I hope that time will never come—I should feel very badly.’ I drew the lesson as closely as I could, trying to make him realize by this comparison his rebellion against his Heavenly Father, &c., &c. He said, ‘Well, there is some truth in that; I may be better some time.’ ‘Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.’ When will you come to Church?’

“‘Well, I said at first that I would not promise to come; now I say I will not promise not to come.’ He added, ‘You have not had dinner yet; well, you must sit down with us. Wife, (calling to her in the next room,) is dinner most ready? The lady will eat with us.’ I declined, saying if he would let me, I would come again.

“‘Do so any time; I will be glad to see you.’ ‘I will come some Sunday,’ I said. ‘Every Sunday, if you like; I will give you a welcome.’”

ART. III.—DR. ANDERSON AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH MISSION TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

1. *The Hawaiian Islands*: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary labors. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D., Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; with Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864. 12mo. pp. 450.
2. *Hawaii*: The Past, Present and Future of its Island-Kingdom. An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands. By MANLEY HOPKINS, Hawaiian Consul General, etc. With a Preface by the Bishop of Oxford. London: 1862. 12mo. pp. 423.
3. *Reports, Sermons, &c., &c.*

THERE is an old proverb, that certain instruments of attack always, sooner or later, come home to plague the inventor. When the Rev. Dr. Anderson, many years ago, was escorting the simple-hearted Nestorian Bishop, Mar Yohannan, through this country, persistently keeping him from contact with that branch of the Catholic Church which would have fully appreciated the real wants of his people, and his own Ecclesiastical convictions and position, and was familiarizing him only with a certain type of American Christianity, he perhaps little dreamed that that element which he was industriously ignoring and avoiding, would, at no distant day, and in most unexpected quarters, rise up to thwart his plans, and, possibly, shape the results of his labors.

In a former Number of this Review,* we called attention to the workings of the Missionary Society, of which Dr. Anderson is Secretary, among the Oriental Churches; to the strange measures which the missionaries of that Society adopted to gain influence in those Churches; how they wore ministerial robes, and made the sign of the Cross in Baptism, and used

* Vol. xiv., No. 3.—Jan., 1862.

Liturgies, &c., &c., and so concealed their own real sentiments and character; how they declared, repeatedly and emphatically, and they could not have remained a day in their positions on any other understanding, that they had no wish or design to interfere with the Oriental Churches; and yet how, immediately after the visit of Dr. Anderson to those Missions, in 1844, and when the Missions had acquired a certain degree of strength, they threw off all disguise, and took the ground that "these converts "are to be recognized as Churches," and that these reformed Churches are to have no reference to any of the degenerate Oriental Churches." We need not ask whether all this was honest, honorable, and worthy of those who are perpetually claiming a monopoly of Evangelical Christianity? But what has been the result? Already, discords and divisions have sprung up in those Missions, arresting their apparent progress, and threatening their very existence. And yet, as far as we have seen, not one word of all these troubles has ever been allowed to appear before the American supporters of those Missions.

Nor is this all. In May, 1864, the Bishop of Gibraltar held an Ordination in Constantinople, which ceremony was witnessed by the leading men of those "converts;" and we are told that "several deputations from among the body of Protestant Armenians, who were, until very lately, under the supervision of the American missionary power, have earnestly solicited that one of their officiating ministers should be ordained to the Office of Priest, according to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church."* Without discussing here the question of the propriety and duty of the English Church to accede to such a request, we assure such members of that Church as our pages may chance to reach, that the unsleeping, we might almost say, unscrupulous opposition of the "American Board," as it calls itself, to the Episcopate, manifested uniformly and everywhere, renders all hesitancy on the ground of courtesy quite out of place. It will be a sad mistake if, for any such cause, the conservative influence of an Apostolic Ministry shall

*Col. Ch. Chronicle, Aug., 1864.

be withheld from those who are so anxious to receive it, and whose circumstances so imperatively demand it.

It will be recollected, that in October, 1860, at a Meeting of our Board of Missions in New Haven, it was moved and adopted, "that it be recommended to the Foreign Committee, to appoint one or more missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, if suitable persons should offer themselves; provided, also, that any suitable contributions be made for their support." This measure was prompted by steps already taken by the English Church to establish a Mission in the Sandwich Islands; and this brings us to the special subject of our present examination.

It is perhaps known to our readers, that the "American Board," so-called, composed of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, has long had a Mission in the Sandwich Islands. That Mission was established in 1820. It has already cost, for its support, over a million of dollars. It has been prosecuted with an expenditure of men and instrumentalities of the most liberal and even lavish kind. No outward facilities to success have been wanting. The friends of that Mission have habitually employed the most glowing language, in describing what the Mission has accomplished. It is not strange, therefore, that Dr. Anderson, the Foreign Secretary of the Board, should find something in this new movement on the part of the English Church and our own, calling for his special attention. After a series of efforts to prevent the establishment of the English mission, to which we shall hereafter advert, he determined to visit the Sandwich Islands in person. He left Boston in January, 1863; reached Honolulu Feb. 27th, and remained four months in the Islands. On his return, he made a verbal report, at the Annual Meeting of the Board at Rochester, in October, which we remember to have read, at the time, with wonder and amazement. He has since published the volume now before us; and both he and the Board, as we shall hereafter see, have made use of other measures to accomplish the end for which, in the main, the journey was undertaken and the volume prepared.

We propose to examine Dr. Anderson's work somewhat in

detail. We have not entered on this task without preparation. Besides a large number of works on the Sandwich Islands, which have been consulted, the official Reports, and even unpublished papers of the English Missionaries themselves, have been freely placed at our disposal. As the result of such examination, our conclusion is, that it was the bounden duty of the English Church to establish a Mission in these Islands, and that it is the duty of our own Church to do what she can in its aid. We shall, perhaps, fail, in a brief Article, to present, clearly, the reasons which have led us to this conclusion. Even a glance at all the facts bearing on the question, is not possible within such limits.

We do not base our objections to the Mission of the American Board, mainly, on the fact, that not a few of its ablest missionaries have exchanged a missionary for a political work, at the Islands. Such intermeddling with secular and civil concerns was, indeed, expressly forbidden by the instructions with which the missionaries were sent out; and it has been a main cause of the foreign jealousies, and, at times, fierce conflicts, by which the peace of the Islands has been interrupted. Neither has the prosperity of the Mission been advanced by such a policy; on the contrary, here is one source of that deep distrust into which the Mission has evidently fallen, with the King and native Chiefs; a fact which Dr. Anderson virtually confesses, but does not seem able or willing to explain.

Neither do we object to the Mission, merely or mainly, because the industrial interests of the Islands, to a large extent, have passed and are passing into the hands of the missionaries and their families; and that the advancement of the natives in the mechanical arts, in agricultural pursuits, and in the acquisition of wealth, has been either neglected or frowned upon. Here was, undoubtedly, another of the blunders of this Mission. To such an extent has the system of land-holding been adopted by the missionaries, that Dr. Anderson, in addressing them, said:—"you are now, as a class, believed to be in possession of more property than your brother ministers, as a body, in any one section of our own country!" (p. 411.) And near the close of his volume,—and he does it in enumerating

the influences which can be brought to bear against what he calls "apprehended dangers,"—he says :—

"There assembled, on the College grounds at Punahou, on the 4th of July, 1863, for a public dinner, some hundreds of persons who rejoiced in their American birth or descent. A large proportion of them were young people. As has been remarked elsewhere, the population, *capital, industry*, and the purely national feeling at the Islands—so far as it is not native—are chiefly of American origin. *The life of the Hawaiian nation seems to rest, mainly, on this body. Yet the general feeling, at the time of my visit, evidently was, that the late King, and the leading spirits of his government, were not in favor of it.*"*

That the missionaries, while giving "the Gospel" to the Islanders, have been disposed to keep "the civilization" of the Islands somewhat in their own hands, we have abundant evidence before us to prove. It is not strange that "the King, and the leading spirits of his government," are not in favor of such a money-making missionary policy ; nor, that the confidence of the natives should be alienated by it.

Neither has the practical working of the Mission been such as to indicate its disinterested spirit and design. Dr. Anderson tells us how the missionaries take up collections on the Sabbath. He says :—

"Just before the Sermon, two leading men took their seats at the table in front of the pulpit ; the whole people having been divided into classes, * * * the presiding deacon called the names of the *luna*, (or leader,) when all of his division, who chose to contribute, came forward to the table, and laid down their money, while the other, took note of the contributions, and the names of the donors."†

The natural influence of this, upon the shrewd natives, we learn from another source. A respectable gentleman thus describes it :—

"The plantation of Mr. A. is twelve miles or so from ——. Mr. A. says he never sees a minister of religion, except Mr. B., and that, only once in three months, on "Dollar Sunday," as it is called, when he rides around, collecting from every male one dollar, and from every female, half a dollar, as the price of "the Sacrament." Mr. A. says Mr. B. adopts the jocular style, in the pulpit, on such occasions ; as, "I hope Mr. Hardfist, Mr. Stingy, and others of the same kidney, are not among us to-day," &c., &c.

* Anderson's Hawaiian Islands, p. 375.

† *Ib.* p. 153.

Our objection to the Mission of the American Board is based upon broader ground. We say, distinctly, that it has not answered the end for which the Mission was or should have been planted ; and that hence the English Church was bound to occupy a field so providentially and urgently urged upon her. attention. Dr. Anderson claims that the Mission has been a success. As this is his main plea, alike in his defense of the American Mission, and in his attack upon that of the English Church, he repeats the assertion again and again. He says :—

“The Islands were converted to Christianity as early as the year 1848. The leading object of the Mission was then accomplished.”* “The gospel has made them a Christian people.” “My late tour surpasses all the others, in the view it gives me of what God has wrought among the heathen through the Gospel of his Son.”† “I am sure that, considering the time, there is nothing like it in the Missions of this age, or of any other.”‡ “The Christian world will have a new and striking proof, that the Missionary work at these Islands is no failure.”§

We freely admit that the Mission has, in many respects, done a great and noble work. The testimony of Mr. Richard H. Dana, an American Churchman, and which Dr. Anderson quotes at length, proves that there has been progress, of a certain kind, among the Hawaiians, as a civilized and Christian nation. Yet the careful reader will notice, that on the real point at issue,—the power and efficacy of the Gospel upon the heart and life of the Hawaiians,—Mr. Dana is singularly reticent. It is not a little singular, too, that Dr. Anderson should have ended his quotation from Mr. Dana just where he did ; and should not also have cited his testimony to the success and influence of the Romish Mission at the Sandwich Islands. Possibly, the contrast which Mr. Dana draws between the policy and practical workings of the two Missions, will account for the omission.

Most certainly, the Mission of the Board has not lacked the opportunity of success. It has been in the field for forty-four years. For many years it had the whole work in its own hands. It had divided the Islands into districts, and had schools, Dr.

* *Ib.* p. 389.† *Ib.* p. 409.‡ *Ib.* p. 410.§ *Ib.* p. 416.

Anderson tells us, "in every district of the Islands, numbering four hundred teachers, and twenty-five thousand pupils, who, at that time, were chiefly adults." (p. 66.) Kaahumanu, the wife of the Great Kamehameha I., and nine principal chiefs of the Islands, were already members of the "Church, in full communion." A school for the education of the young chiefs of the Islands, and conducted by the missionaries, was supported by the Hawaiian Government. In 1848, there were 336 Schools, and 16,153 pupils; besides free Schools of a higher order, with 234 pupils. The ablest and shrewdest of the missionaries, as Rev. William Richards, Rev. Richard Armstrong, D. D., and Dr. Gerritt P. Judd, withdrew from the missionary service, and became members of the King's Cabinet, and his confidential advisers. In 1844, Dr. Judd was Minister for the Interior, the Rev. William Richards, Privy Counsellor, and the Rev. Mr. Andrews, Supreme Judge. There have been *forty* clerical missionaries sent out from this country, *six* physicians, *twenty* laymen, as teachers, printers, &c., and *eighty-three* females; making, in all, a missionary force of *one hundred and forty-nine* persons. The whole Islands were divided into about twenty missionary districts, each in charge of a missionary. All this missionary force, too, be it remembered, has been expended upon a native population, now numbering only 67,084 persons, or less than the population of any single one of eleven American towns! And Dr. Anderson says, that, "from the days of Kaahumanu, the great majority of the people would gladly have secured an admission to the church, if permitted to do so." No one, then, can complain, that the Mission has not had at its command every facility for usefulness that it could possibly have desired.

What then have been the actual results of this Mission? We have seen the answer of Dr. Anderson to that question. We propose to compare that statement with the testimony of several witnesses, perfectly competent, and of undoubted credibility. And here, in this place, we state an important fact, bearing upon this whole subject in several ways. The reader can draw his own inferences. The "American Board," after having sent out one hundred and forty-nine missionaries to the

Sandwich Islands, and expended a million of dollars, has determined now to withdraw from the Mission, and has already withdrawn from it ! Dr. Anderson says, "the Mission, having accomplished, through the blessing of God, the work specially appropriate to it as a *Mission*, has been as such disbanded, and merged in the community."^{*} The reasons alleged for such a singular step, occupy no small part of Dr. Anderson's remarkable volume. We beg to ask, does he suppose that common sense and ordinary discernment will not suggest, that, possibly, there may be other reasons for this withdrawal from the Mission ? Does he not perceive, that an utter failure of the Mission to accomplish its appropriate ends, will be suspected as a possible cause ? The Doctor, however, as we have already seen, is very emphatic in declaring what the Mission has accomplished ; and to some testimony on that subject, we will now advert.

And first, the Doctor himself, in his introductory address at the Convocation in Honolulu, just before he left the Islands, and where he was evidently disposed to talk plainly, said ; "As to the *national sin*, [licentiousness] * * * there has not yet been time to form a strong public sentiment, and *create a sensitive conscience in respect to it, even in the Church.*" (p. 410.) What this means, in plain English, we need not say. Is this "missionary success ?" Has such a Mission "accomplished, through the blessing of God, the work specially appropriate to it as a Mission ?" The Doctor makes a statement in his volume, and afterwards repeats it, evidently laying great stress upon it. He says, "civilization does not precede the Gospel among a barbarous people, nor even keep pace with it in its early stages." (p. 230.) As the Doctor's language is greatly wanting in scholarly precision on such subjects, we are not sure that he has not here, in this single sentence, unconsciously disclosed the fundamental mistake of the whole Mission. If he means, that a sensuous emotionalism, or any possible degree of it, or pervading any number of people, is "the Gospel," or the work of the Holy Spirit, he is guilty of an

^{*} Anderson's Hawaiian Islands, p. 324.

error which has proved, first the apparent success, and then the weakness and ruin of several of the Sects. Between this sensuous emotionalism and true spiritual affection, there is not, necessarily, the slightest possible connection. This emotionalism, or religious instinct, (we do not mean the moral faculty,) is easily excited. It is a pleasurable emotion. It is a most powerful element. Among uneducated and half educated people, the instrumentalities for arousing it are coarse and degrading. The Methodists and Romanists have their hold upon this class, simply because they know how to address this element. We have seen a crowd of negroes at the South so frantic with religious excitement, as to present a spectacle horrible beyond description. They thought it was religion. Yet the negro preacher who, on that occasion, awoke that terrible tempest, was a great scoundrel, and had just been incarcerated for gross crime; and the negroes themselves, immediately after leaving that wild scene, were giggling with worldly mirth. So also, that great "Revival," which, several years ago, swept over Western New York, and left its track in spiritual barrenness, open infidelity, and moral death, was, at the time, gazetted as a genuine work of the Holy Ghost; and yet, it was afterwards described, by Dr. Lyman Beecher, in language which, if we were to use, would be branded by Dr. Anderson as blasphemy.

Take the following facts at the Sandwich Islands as illustrations. In one of the Missionary districts, Dr. Anderson tells us, that one of the Missionaries "admitted to the church five thousand in one year, and as many as *seventeen hundred in one day*." In another district in Hawaii, Waimea, another missionary, Mr. Lyons, "in the first year of the great awakening, (1838,) admitted 2,600 persons to the Church, and nearly as many more in the following year." The whole number admitted was 7,267. Dr. Anderson tells us, that of these, 3,760 have died; and "1,752 are now in regular church standing." Yet the Doctor does not tell us what has become of the still larger number, 1,755, still unaccounted for, who have not died, and who are not in "regular church standing;" but he does tell us, that in respect to the sin of licentiousness, "there has

not yet been time to create a sensitive conscience in respect to it, *even in the Church.*" Is this what the Doctor calls "missionary success?" The Jesuits, in their Mission in India, baptized the natives by thousands, and tens of thousands, and called them Christians, or, as Dr. Anderson would say, "virtually Christianized." Will he tell us wherein his process of Conversion differs from theirs, so far as the power of Christianity is to be distinguished from a mere form? The American Missionaries use one form, the Jesuits another.

The Doctor incidentally makes an important statement bearing upon this point. He says:—

"Unfavorable views of the character of native piety at the Hawaiian Islands may be found, in not a few published works on the Islands; even, in some cases, representing the labors of the Missionaries as a failure. I had personal conferences *with intelligent and candid men, residents or visitors at the Islands*, who were more or less skeptical on this subject."*

This wide-sweeping admission should be remembered, in examining the testimony which we are now to adduce. We make no note of a large number of works before us, the Journals, &c. of tourists, professional travellers and explorers, scientific gentlemen, and others, who, within the last forty years, have chanced to visit the Sandwich Islands. Their statements, however, agree uniformly as to the moral character of the natives, after forty-four years of missionary training, and are such as we might anticipate, after the Doctor's significant admission, above cited.

Let us take the testimony of one who not only could have had no object in concealing or misstating facts, but was himself a Missionary by profession, and was on the most friendly relations with the Missionaries at the Islands. We mean the Rev. Gustavus Hines, a Methodist missionary to the Flat-head Indians, in Oregon. He visited the Sandwich Islands at three several times, in 1840, 1844, and 1845; at one time remaining three months at the Islands, a close observer of the practical work of the Mission. His published volume, "*Life on the Plains of the Pacific*," and the position which he occupied in

* Anderson's Hawaiian Islands, p. 286.

the Methodist Mission, give to his testimony entire credibility. Dr. Anderson says, that "the Islands were converted to Christianity as early as the year 1848. The leading object of the Mission was then accomplished." (P. 389.) About two years before this, or in the latter part of 1845, the Rev. Mr. Hines was at the Islands. His testimony is as follows :—

"Great changes have indeed been effected, and vast improvements made among the Hawaiians, through the instrumentality of Missionary labor; yet, after all, the amount of real good accomplished, I fear, is not so great as the Christian world has been led to believe. Religion, in every department of Hawaiian society, however genuine the system which is taught them may be, is of a very superficial character. * * * All their efforts are ineffectual in eradicating that looseness of morals, which attaches itself so adhesively to the Hawaiian character, and which is everywhere exhibiting itself in the gambling, thievish, and adulterous habits of the people of all classes, from the hut of the most degraded menial, to the royal palace. One fact will show the astonishing extent to which promiscuous intercourse prevails. Relationship is always traced from the mother, and not from the father, as in all civilized countries; and, indeed, it is not an easy matter for a Hawaiian to tell who his father is."*

Again, he says :—

"Notwithstanding all this, and all that has been done for their benefit, the state of the native Hawaiians is still truly deplorable. To call them a Christianized, civilized, happy and prosperous people, would be to mislead the public mind in relation to their true condition. All these terms, when applied to the Hawaiians, should be greatly qualified."†

We put the question once more, is this "Missionary success?" Has, or has not, Dr. Anderson been guilty of "misleading the public mind in relation to the true condition" of the Hawaiians? We call attention, too, to the fact, that notwithstanding the multitude of works which have been published on the Sandwich Islands, and in which the character of the natives is freely spoken of, Dr. Anderson has only appealed to Mr. R. H. Dana's letter, written for a New York newspaper. How much that letter is really worth, on the precise point before us, we have already seen.

But this is not all. We have before us the testimony of

* *Life on the Plains of the Pacific*, p. 253.

† *Ib.* p. 232.

gentlemen connected with the English Mission at those Islands. They have been engaged in the work of that Mission about three years. They were there when Dr. Anderson made his visit; and there was one interview of Dr. Anderson with some of those gentlemen, to which the Doctor, notwithstanding the minute particularity with which he has sketched the incidents of his visit, has made no allusion. It certainly was worth recording. The Doctor has passed it by, and so will we. Those gentlemen evidently understood the Doctor; and he seems to have so far understood himself, as to have exercised a choice in the materials for making up his Book. The statements of these gentlemen, as to the result of the Mission of the Congregational Missionaries, are particular, abounding in detail, and are most distinct and positive; and they are fully corroborated by other testimony. At the time now spoken of, Dr. Anderson had recently made his visit to the Islands. The writer before us says:—

“His object was to make out we had nothing to do with the natives; that they agreeably surprised him, being such advanced Christians. Poor man! he is little aware, or affects to be ignorant, that this nation, religiously, is as purely heathen as ever it was; only with a thin film of Christianity over it. His Majesty knows it—admits it, and he is the best authority, even if we had no facts. Dr. A. is sent by the Congregationalists of the United States to make out a case against us, and to show that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith may save its dollars, and let them continue to have the same hold on the fears and hopes and purses of the people, as they have hitherto had.”

“The bitterness we experience from the (American) Missionaries would not be believed. They do not confine themselves to argument. Personal slander, especially of the King, is the commonest possible thing in their pulpits. These low, uneducated persons, formerly blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, &c., do not understand what gentlemanly feeling is. To make their Mission self-supporting, is the grand aim of their ministry. The sick, the dying, are never looked after by them, or rarely; not one person, who dies, in ten, receives Christian burial; children are left unbaptized; praying to death and sensual vice are connived at in their deacons and best members, with a shrug, while the dollars are taken in pay for the molasses and poi, given as the Sacrament. The Sabbath is the one grand test of piety.

* * * Female virtue, after forty-three years of Christianity, is ordinarily unknown in girls in their teens. * * * The people are heathens, really, in belief and practice; professing Christianity because it is respectable.”

The Polynesian, a Hawaiian newspaper of April 18, 1863, after giving an instance of "praying to death," says :—

"No comment of ours can heighten the impression of the above heart-rending narrative. The belief of the common people in the power of praying to death, is universal. There is but one antidote—education. Yet the universality and persistency with which this horrible superstition maintains itself among the Hawaiian people, after three generations of schooling, is a sad demurrer, a fearful comment, on the character and efficiency of the education they have received."

A gentleman of the highest reputation, connected with the English Mission at the Sandwich Islands, says, under late date :—

"I speak, before God, with all truth, and calmly, when I say, what the [late] King himself confirms; that worship of Pele, incantations, idolatry, praying to death, are universally practised in secret; that in life, the thin film of Puritan Christianity hypocritically hides it from view; but in the hour of death, they, the people, turn to their early deities."

Other testimony of the same kind is before us, in abundance. Facts are cited, particulars are given, showing both the gross immorality still prevailing at the Islands, and the power which heathenism still has over the hearts of the people.

There is still another appalling fact bearing upon this subject, which must not be passed by. We allude to the rapid depopulation of the Islands. We say that the fact of that depopulation is proof, of the strongest possible kind, that that Mission has not done its appropriate work. The rapid decline began before the Mission was established; and for this the Mission, of course, is not to be held responsible; but the permanent causes of that decline were, and are, such as the Mission, during the forty-four years of its history, ought to have reached and held in check. In other regions of the globe, in tropical and semi-tropical climates, another rule, in the spread of population, has prevailed. The white race has remained stationary or dwindled; the native race has increased. In the Sandwich Islands, the Mission families have proved fruitful and flourishing. The number of children of the Missionaries at the Islands over the age of eight, Dr. Anderson says, is one hundred and fifty. The decline in the native popula-

tion, however, has been rapid and fearful, and at the past ratio of decrease, the Hawaiian nation, as such, will soon cease to exist. When Captain Cook discovered the Islands, in 1779, the population was estimated at 400,000. The wars of Kamehameha I., under whom the Islands were subjected to his single will and power, were exceedingly destructive of human life. But other and powerful causes were also in operation. Three years after the arrival of the Missionaries, or in 1823, the number of the natives was about 142,000. Nine years later, by an official census, there was found to be a loss of 11,735; four years later, the loss was 21,736; fourteen years later, the loss was 24,414; three years later, the loss was 11,027; and seven years later, or in 1860, there was a further loss of 3,338, or a native population on the Islands, in all, of only 67,084 persons. And yet, during all this time, the Congregational Mission was, in what Dr. Anderson calls, *successful operation*!

In 1846, Mr. Wyllie, then Minister of Foreign Relations, issued throughout the Islands a Circular, containing 116 questions, in order to obtain statistics as to the condition of the Hawaiian people, the state of the laws, religion, topography, mineral wealth, &c., &c. "In answer to the direct question, No. 73, as to the cause of the decrease of the population; it was answered,—indolence, improvidence, and ignorance of the laws of animal life; *but*, the most direct, certain, and fearful of all exterminating causes, are early and protracted habits of licentiousness."^{*}

One of the Missionaries, to whom this Circular was sent, ascribes the depopulation of the Islands to "the mysterious will of God." Another says, "It is hardly worth while to seek for the best means of preserving a people, when it is a given point that all means for the purpose will be alike unavailing." And Mr. Wyllie himself, in 1857, writes; "It is my frank belief, that unless Hawaiian females can be rendered more pure and chaste, it is impossible to preserve the Hawaiian people in being."[†] We say, that with the education of the Hawaiian youth in the hands of the Missionaries for more than forty

^{*} The Sandwich Islands, by Manley Hopkins, p. 367.

[†] *Id.* p. 37.

years, with three entire generations of children subjected to their moulding influence, such an appalling fact in the history of the native population, is a sad comment on the history of the Mission itself. We yield our full assent to the Doctor, when he says, that, "considering the time, there is nothing like it, in the Missions of this age, or, of any other." We do not believe there is anything like it, or ever was. We venture to hope, for the honor of Christianity, that there never will be anything like it, in all time to come.

In view of what has been already said, we do not hesitate to pronounce the Mission of the Congregationalists at the Sandwich Islands a failure, as to the great ends for which a Christian Mission ought to have been established in such a field. Their Mission has substantially failed among the Oriental Churches, where it went, in such overweening confidence, to place a modern system of Independency side by side with those decayed Primitive Churches. And now it has failed again, on the fresh virgin soil of the Hawaiian Islands, where Idolatry had already been dethroned, and the people were in expectancy for a purer and nobler religion. Neither is such a result just occasion for surprise. It is, we understand, a Congregational Mission; it has been conducted on Congregational principles, and nearly all its Missionaries have been of that denomination. Now, Congregationalism has no system of Positive Faith to believe or to teach, like that "Form of sound words," as St. Paul calls it, the Apostles' Creed, which the Apostles went forth to proclaim, before a single word of the New Testament was written. Congregationalism does not believe in the binding authority of Creeds; and hence its teaching is but vague generalities, or some theory of "popular reform," which happens to be uppermost in the public mind. We have before us an account of the preaching of one of these Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, which our readers would pronounce almost incredible; and yet, we have no doubt that every word of it is true.

Congregationalism has failed, even here at home. In Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and throughout New England, it has lost its hold upon the conscience and confidence of the

masses of the people, and, as a moral power, it is comparatively dead, or dying out. Whatever the cause may be, the fact is indisputable.* It has not preserved the Faith. The doctrines of the Fall, the Atonement, the Trinity, the Inspiration of the Bible, the Sacraments, the Ministry, are held loosely or denied utterly, and the whole system is developing into all conceivable forms of error,—Pelagianism, and Unitarianism, and Deism, and Humanitarianism, and open and avowed Infidelity. Under the workings of that system, doubt and unbelief have taken possession of its chief places of power and influence. These are not surmises; facts and statistics are before us, of the most overwhelming character, to sustain all that we have said. As one example of the spread of unbelief, and in places reputed to be orthodox, in 1853, the Rev. Dr. Dana, Congregational Minister at Newburyport, Mass., a Trustee of the Andover Seminary, published his "Remonstrance" against the Theology taught at that Seminary. He says:—

"The distinguishing Doctrines, and the very Inspiration of the Bible, are vanishing from the minds of men; and a real, though disguised Infidelity, is occupying their places." p. 12. "He, (Professor Park,) has directly attacked the most important articles of that Catechism, (Assembly's,) of which he has repeatedly declared his belief, with his solemn engagement to teach its doctrines. And, more still, he has repeatedly stamped these articles with ridicule, and exposed them to public scorn." p. 19.

* A (Boston) "Congregational" (Newspaper) has the following:—"In a report made to the General Association of Massachusetts, June 24, 1858, by a Committee of which Rev. Dr. Copp, of Chelsea, was the chairman, it was stated, that according to statistical information recently gathered, embracing Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts, there were not far from two millions of people outside of our churches every Sabbath, and thirteen hundred thousand had no more to do with the sanctuary of God than the Heathen. These facts were so startling, that many of our clergymen objected to their publication, lest injury should be done."

The (Boston) *Tract Journal* for Jan., 1861, has a Quarterly Report from one of the Colporteurs of that Society, in which we find the following:—

"A Congregational Clergyman recently stated, in a Ministerial meeting at P., that, of the twelve thousand inhabitants of S., G. and B., not one thousand were regular attendants on Sabbath worship. The Church-going people of J., nearly all of S., and F., might safely be estimated in the same ratio. Indeed, I doubt whether, of the nearly thirty thousand people who make up the population of the above towns, two thousand would not be fully up to the average of the actual number who assemble in all the School Houses and Churches on the Lord's day."

Now, we ask, in all earnestness, is this such a presentation of the Gospel, as is adapted to the spiritual wants of the heathen anywhere? Most of all, is it adapted to the wants of the Hawaiians? That system, at best, is abstract, metaphysical, transcendental. It is the very last phase of Religion fitted to engage the attention, gain the affections, and mould the character of the æsthetic, light-hearted, impressible children of the sunny South. It comes, with its dry propositions of doctrines, doctrines which itself has discarded, instead of weaving a chain of holy influences around the heart. It knows nothing of the power of Christian Nurture; for it has lost faith in Sacramental union with Christ. It can see nothing, and teach nothing of those invisible bonds wherewith the Holy Ghost unites the faithful in the One Mystical Body of Christ, and so sanctifies and elevates the soul. There is such a system of the Gospel. There is in it supernatural power adequate to the wants of all, and especially fitted to work wonders in the character of just such a people as the Hawaiian nation. Dr. Anderson gives a list of the works published at the Hawaiian Missionary press. There is nothing in all that list which indicates that a positive Faith has ever been taught to those simple-hearted Hawaiians. Again we say, we are not surprised at the results of the Mission of the American Board. It has, undoubtedly, done a certain work. But there is a work which it has not done, and has no power to do. On this broad ground, therefore, we meet the position of Dr. Anderson; and say, that the Mission has failed to accomplish the end for which it was established.

A prominent feature, however, of Dr. Anderson's work, is his attack on the English Church Mission; and to the consideration of that charge we now come. The opposition to that Mission presents some curious developments. It now appears that, several years ago, there began to be manifest at the Islands a dissatisfaction with the existing state of things, which threatened trouble to the American Missionaries. Dr. Anderson says, that "at a somewhat earlier date," (he does not tell us when,) he prevailed upon a "a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church," "to send a good man to Honolulu;" but Methodism proved a failure. Having learned, in 1858 or 1859,

that the English Church were to be petitioned for a Mission of that Church on the Islands, Dr. Anderson, and his friends at the Islands, set themselves to work to head off the movement, or at least to avert its inevitable consequences to themselves. First, there appears, in the Report of the English "Colonial Church and School Society," letters from Dr. Armstrong, formerly a Missionary, and at that time President of the Hawaiian Board of Public Instruction, and Mr. R. C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, both in the interest of the American Mission, addressed to the Rev. William Ellis, a Dissenting Missionary then in London. How much in sympathy Mr. Ellis would be with an English Church Mission, we may infer from the fact, that he says, speaking of his own Mission at Tahiti, "we instructed them not to consider baptism as possessing any saving efficacy, or *conferring any spiritual benefit*;" and he adds, speaking of the Lord's Supper, "we felt no hesitation in using the roasted or baked bread fruit, pieces of which were placed in the proper vessel."^{*}

Dr. Armstrong, in his letter to Mr. Ellis, tells him what sort of a man he wishes him to manage to have sent out. He wants "just the right man;" not a man "of loose Christian habits," and not a "High Churchman." He wants one of those "common Christianity" men, who believe everything in general and nothing in particular; who look upon the denominations as all alike vessels bound to the same port, all alike members of the one great Family of Christ, all alike branches of the One Catholic Church; a man whom the Congregationalists could pat on the back, and then use as a tool to build up Congregationalism with. He threatens, distinctly, that if "the right man" is not sent out, he may expect opposition; and concludes his diplomatic letter by modestly suggesting that Mr. Ellis should see the Bishop of London on the subject. Mr. Ellis, himself thoroughly radical and anti-Episcopal, subsequently, in his letter to Dr. Anderson, informs him, that he endeavored to secure the appointment of one "who would coöperate with the Christian Ministers already there." And Dr. Anderson, in his Book,

* Polynesian Researches, p. 256.

complains, that by the English Missionaries who were sent out, "the office and work of the American brethren, as Christian ministers, as well as their churches and native ministry, were ignored;" and that, "if they met their American brethren at all, it was never as divinely authorized Christian Missionaries."

Here, of course, is the point where the whole difficulty between Dr. Anderson and the English Mission lies. As to the insinuations, of a personal character, in Dr. Anderson's Book, in such expressions as "loose Christian habits," &c., implying that the Missionaries to be sent out by the English Church were likely to suffer in this respect in comparison with the American Missionaries, we simply remind the Doctor, that there are some things in the world which never trumpet their own praise; and that true piety is one. For ourselves, we would regard a man who was perpetually prating of his own superlative sanctity, as we would look upon a woman who was continually boasting of her own superior virtue. Both would, of necessity, be objects of suspicion. But when Dr. Anderson comes to the subject of "divinely authorized Christian Missionaries," he reaches the gist of the whole matter in question. Undoubtedly it would please Dr. Anderson, if the English Church would recognize a Congregational Ministry as "divinely authorized;" just as it would please Congregational ministers in this country to have the same sort of recognition; and they not unfrequently seem exceedingly restive on the subject. But the Congregational theory of the Ministry, and the English Church theory of the Ministry, are quite different things. The English Church insists, that Christ established a certain Ministry, gave to it perpetuity, and promised to be with it until the end of time. It claims to have that Ministry; and acknowledges herself bound to treat it as a sacred trust. Congregationalism can make no such claims, and it knows it. It either denies altogether the existence of a Ministry, as an Order distinct from the people, or it is forced to confess that its own Ministry can be traced back to the imposition of hands by those who were only Laymen. Whether Congregationalism is wrong, or whether the Church of England is wrong, we are not discussing. We merely affirm that the theories of the two Systems are funda-

mentally different; and that Dr. Anderson has no right to complain that the Church of England has acted consistently with herself.

It was at this point in the history of the English Mission, that Dr. Anderson himself appears upon the stage. He addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Sept. 3, 1860, which is certainly a very remarkable document. After using other considerations, he appeals to the fears of the amiable Archbishop; and asks, if the introduction of a branch of the Church of England might not "be regarded with jealousy, by the Government of the United States?" Dr. Anderson also directed a letter to the Bishop of London on the subject; but this document has not appeared in print. The Mission, however, was established. Still true to his purpose, Dr. Anderson then, at his advanced age, made his journey to the Islands, and effected such changes in the organization of the Mission, and gave such counsel to the Missionaries, as the "apprehended dangers" suggested. On his return, he prepared the Book which we have before us. Not content with all this, the Board has sent forth a Protest against the Mission, to every missionary organization in this country and in Europe.* To some important facts, therefore, in the history of that Mission, let us now give our attention.

* As a specimen of the efforts making to injure the English Mission, we cut the following from the *New York Observer* of Jan. 19, 1865.

"Extracts from a private letter, dated Nov. 22, 1864, just received [Jan. 5, 1865]:

"The Establishment of the 'Reformed Catholic Church' is hard up for funds. The novelty of the enterprise is wearing away, and the number of the worshippers at the cathedral is said to be very small; in fact, we hear it often said that the enterprise is a failure. A week or two ago, four ladies, 'Sisters of Mercy,' arrived here from England, for the Reformed Catholic Church; they wear black gowns, *minus* crinoline, and large white hoods and white umbrellas, looking, for all the world, like walking mushrooms. In passing the cathedral on Sabbath evenings, on my way to church, we can see the pictures of the Twelve Apostles, the candles, &c.; in fact, with their saints' days, processions, and frequent services and sacraments, the difference between them and the Roman Catholics is not at all apparent. Protestant missionaries are not regarded by them as clergymen, but only 'ministers of religion.'"

The following, from the same letter, is significant:—

"I see no reason to be discouraged, except that so few of the young among the natives are Christians, and their domestic life not calculated to perpetuate the race, or to make them good citizens. * * * As seventeen out of our twenty sugar plantations are American institutions, we are not afraid that the United States will ever lose their interest here, though we be not in court favor, and our diplomatic affairs are miserably managed."

There has been, from the beginning, a stronger English influence in the Hawaiian Islands, and a louder call on the sympathies of the English Church, than Dr. Anderson's volume would lead one to suppose. Indeed, his treatment of certain historic facts, which must have come within his knowledge, is a remarkable feature of his work. The Islands were discovered by an Englishman. Two English sailors, left as prisoners on the Islands, in 1789, Davis and Young, exerted no small influence on the destinies of the people; and the grand-daughter of one of these sailors became the queen of Kamehameha IV. Greater than the influence of these, however, was that of the noble English voyager and explorer, Capt. Vancouver. He was at the Islands in 1778, 1792, and 1793; and coming in immediate and frequent contact with that remarkable man, Kamehameha I., he impressed that daring, ruling mind, with conceptions of a new civilization, and a higher and better code of morality. The subsequent renunciation of Idolatry by the rulers, which Dr. Anderson deems so wonderful, was natural, and a thing of course. Vancouver "gave the King excellent advice as to the discipline of his troops, and his political conduct; urged the advantages of peace, the folly of idolatry, the oppressive evil of the *Tabu* system, and made known to him the one true God, Creator, Ruler, and Judge of all nations, and all men."* The King felt the helplessness of his position, and he determined to cede Hawaii to the British crown; and on the 25th of February, 1794, he made a formal declaration of submission to the Monarch of Great Britain. After the conquest of the Islands of Maui and Oahu, he again wrote to George III., acknowledging him as his Sovereign; and having conquered the entire group of Islands, he once more wrote to George III., acknowledging himself as a subject "of his most sacred Majesty." All this was regarded by Kamehameha as no vain ceremony. The English colors were planted on the Island, salutes were fired, the natives shouted, "*Kanaka no Beritane*," (we are men of Britain.) When Vancouver finally left the Islands, he bore to England the formal request of Ka-

* Hopkins's Sandwich Islands, p. 123.

mehameha and his chiefs, for religious instructors ; and, at the time the American Missionaries arrived, in 1820, the first inquiry was, whether these were the instructors promised from England by Vancouver ; and finding that they were not, there was no small opposition to their landing, and for this reason.

For political or other causes, the British Government and the English Church did not, at that time, respond to the appeal. But the desire for English religious instructors seems never to have been extinguished at the Islands ; and a request for that purpose was made to George IV., and attempts were made in Honolulu, in 1844, 1847, 1851, and 1858, to secure the introduction of the English Church. At length, in 1859, there came an appeal to the English Church, the force of which she could not, and did not resist. King Kamehameha IV., through his Minister of Foreign Relations, Mr. Wyllie, directed his representative in London, Manley Hopkins, Esq., Hawaiian Consul-General, to request the establishment of an English Church at the Hawaiian capital, and to confer, for this purpose, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Church (Missionary) Societies. King Kamehameha himself, in 1860, wrote an autograph letter to her Majesty, the Queen of England, on the subject, and, by his Minister, to the Primate of the English Church, stating that it was not only his own earnest wish, but that of many of his chiefs, and of the principal European residents, to receive a complete branch of the English Church, to be planted among his people. He also promised a definite sum in support of such a Church, and offered certain gratuities in its behalf. In one of these letters from the Islands,—to add to the strength of the petition for the establishment of the English Church,—there is recalled the former request made to the British Sovereign through Captain Vancouver.

Such an appeal, the English Church could not disregard. The whole subject was canvassed, in all its bearings. It was felt, that if a new effort was to be made by the Church of England to save the Sandwich Islands from the threatened doom, the Church should go there in her integrity, that the experiment should be fairly made. Then it was that Dr. An-

derson and the American Missionaries interposed, with a pertinacity which became an impertinence, and was treated by English Churchmen as such. Their whole object, apparently, was to make the English Church Mission auxiliary to their own, and so to help build up a modern system of religion, which has proved an utter failure wherever it has been tried. An English Bishop, however, was appointed, and consecrated, Dec. 15, 1861, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Oxford and London. The Bishop of London, subsequently, in his reply to the letter of Dr. Anderson, stated, distinctly, that "*everything had been arranged in strict accordance with the expressed wishes of the King of the Sandwich Islands.*" The Bishop of Oxford, in his Preface to Mr. Manley Hopkins's book, also says:—"At his (King Kamehameha's) desire, and with the concurrence of our Queen, a Bishop of our nation has been consecrated, at Lambeth, to bear the precious seed to the distant Island of his adoption." With such a record before her, the English Church Mission has nothing to fear, in the judgment of Christendom, from the opposition of Dr. Anderson and the "American Board." That Church would have been recreant to her duty, false to her trust, not to have entered upon a field thus urged upon her. She would have been untrue to her divine principles, her sacred commission, to have made her work subordinate to a system of Congregationalism, which had proved itself so inadequate to the spiritual wants of the Hawaiian nation.

It is a severe test of one's kind feeling, not to say Christian charity, to read the charges with which Dr. Anderson seeks to injure the character of the English Church, and of her missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. We do not doubt the Church missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, when they bear witness to the "bitterness" which they experience from the missionaries of the American Board. We learn, too, from authentic sources, and with deep grief and sadness, that the death of that noble Christian King, Kamehameha IV., was hastened, in consequence of the persecutions which he had to endure from the same source. To say nothing of the stereotyped catch-word, "baptismal regeneration," on which, of course, Dr. Anderson

rings the usual changes, or of his elaborate description of the showy ceremonialism of the worship of the English Mission, (for he is careful to say in a note, "I cannot, of course, vouch for the entire accuracy of the statement," and so confesses his inability to substantiate the long catalogue of indictments which he is so ready to make,) we ask attention to one of his accusations against Bishop Staley, as showing the temper and spirit of the man and of his Book. He is describing Bishop Staley as a religious teacher. We put Dr. Anderson's description of the Sermon, and an extract from the Sermon itself, side by side, and then ask the reader if Dr. Anderson is not a false accuser:—

DR. ANDERSON.

The Islanders, under the instruction of the missionaries, are wont to call one day in seven the Sabbath; but "most falsely and mischievously," in the opinion of Bishop Staley; "for the Church provides an order of prayer to be said daily throughout the year."

BISHOP STALEY HIMSELF.

"It is, therefore, not a business of one day in seven—Sunday—often called, I think most falsely and mischievously, the Sabbath; for the Church provides an Order of Prayer to be said daily throughout the year."

The special point which Bishop Staley was inculcating was, that Religion is not a thing for Sundays merely, but it is to enter into the daily life, and is to leaven and hallow all the instincts of our nature. But this Dr. Anderson carefully ignores.

Again, Dr. Anderson, in a note, throws out another accusation against the Church. He says:—"Very few missionaries do actually go forth from the Church into the heathen world to promulgate these doctrines." Dr. Anderson may, or may not, be aware that the great movement of modern times,—in which the English Church is sending the Church, fully organized, not only into all her Colonial possessions, and into the regions of paganism,—was inaugurated, and is prosecuted by, that portion of the Church which he so bitterly opposes. And yet, are these nearly fifty Colonial and missionary Bishops, with their hundreds of Clergy, and tens of thousands of communicants, penetrating, as these missionaries are doing, the darkest shades of heathenism with the illuminating and glorious light of the Gospel,—are these noble, self-denying men to

be passed off with a miserable, slanderous insinuation? Dr. Anderson ought to know, that the missionaries of the two great Societies, so far from colliding with each other, as he would intimate, are laboring side by side, and joining hand to hand, and heart to heart, in the one great work. Let him look at the record of Church Missionary work, for example, in the Diocese of Madras, with its 94 Clergy, of whom 38 are native, and he will find missionary zeal, and self-denial, and results, worthy of Apostolic days,—such as will shame him into silence.

There is another point in Dr. Anderson's attack on the English Mission, which remains to be considered. He says:—"No foreign nation, or ecclesiastical body, or Missionary Society, should exercise authority in those Christianized Islands."* He says, "Hawaiian lawyers, [Puritan?] if they felt free to speak, would probably declare that a request from their King for an extension of the "United Church of England and Ireland" to their independent kingdom, *lay beyond his legal power.*"† On pp. 375-6, he gives, still more clearly, his advice to carry this matter, if possible, into the sphere of politics and government in the Islands. Judging from the tone of the man, and of his Book,—judging from the violence of the missionaries against the French Roman Catholics, in 1837, when the control of the government of the Islands was virtually in the hands of the Mission,—it is evident enough that Puritanism would, if it could, dethrone the King, and revolutionize the Government, in order to keep Bishops from the Islands. This was the game which the Puritans played in the United States, previous to the Revolutionary War, in order to prevent the English Church from sending Bishops to her Missions in this country.‡ Puritanism has never hesitated to use political power to gain its ends, when it could. Puritanism and Popery, (and the two extremes meet in more points than one,) both have maintained the right and the duty of using "the two swords;" that is, if they can. Both are, in this respect, different forms of Judaism. Both are based, in genius and temper, on the Jewish Economy.

* Page 401.

† Page 342.

‡ See *Am. Qu. Ch. Rev.*, Vol. IV., p. 548,—“American Episcopate before the Revolution.”

Popery copies the Jewish religious ceremonialism, and Puritanism its code of Morals. Both have adopted its political and judicial System; and have done it openly, again and again. "Hew Agag in pieces," was the burden of the old Puritan preachers, when they wished to get rid of Charles I. We have the proof of this in more than thirty Sermons, now before us, of the leading Puritan preachers, between the year 1640, and the beheading of the King.

As for "toleration," and "freedom of conscience," we notice that the descendants of these men, in our times, seem very restive, especially on every "Forefathers' Day," under the consciousness that the world is, after all, very incredulous on that subject; and so they echo and re-echo the old story, as if it were true. Toleration! Freedom of conscience! It was such toleration as wolves show to lambs. It was such toleration, as the Puritans showed Archbishop Laud, never resting, till they had slaked their thirst in his blood. It was such toleration, as New England Puritans showed to Churchmen and to Quakers; the toleration of hanging, and branding, and whipping, and imprisonment. The earlier editions of their "Larger Catechism" declared "the tolerating a False Religion" to be idolatry. Pym, their great oracle, said in Parliament, "it is the duty of the Legislature to establish true Religion, and to punish false." John Cotton said, "it was Toleration that made the world Anti-Christian." President Oaks, of Harvard University, said, in an Election Sermon at Boston, "I look upon Toleration as the first-born of all abominations." Hutchinson, the Historian, says:—"Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers, which would bring down the judgment of Heaven upon the land."^{*}

We are not now assailing, much less are we seeking to expose, the fallacy of this modern Judaism. We simply affirm, that Religious Systems which claim to succeed the Jewish Dispensation, in those of its features which were only special and

^{*} See Pius IX.'s Encyclical Letter, of Dec. 8, 1864. Also Lambert's History of New Haven Colony, pp. 28, 49. Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut, pp. 311, 524, 545; Massachusetts-Bay Col. Laws, chs. xlix, l, li. Jewel's History of the Quakers; Amer Quar. Church Review, Vol. IV. pp. 561-5. IX. pp. 73-6.

temporary ; that they who assume now to be in this sense the specially "elect and chosen," may be expected to make use of political power, both to propagate their own tenets, and to crush out whatever may present itself in opposition. Puritanism has done this repeatedly ; as its history proves. It would do it at the Sandwich Islands, if it could. Happily, such weapons are not within its grasp. Even the intimation of such a purpose is ridiculous. Yet this thirst for temporal power, at Rome, and elsewhere, dies hard.

We are through with Dr. Anderson's Book. For the sake of the English Church, and her Mission at the Hawaiian Islands, in which our own Church has already an immediate interest, (one of our own Clergy, Rev. Mr. Whipple, has just joined its ranks,) we have given to this volume more attention than its intrinsic importance deserves. Disagreeable as the labor of such an exposition has been, we have felt called to the work, and that work is now done.

What the future of the English Mission is to be, what its influence on the Hawaiian nation, as such, cannot be predicted. There are the elements of a most noble character in this people, and the development of a distinct Hawaiian nationality the Church Mission will not lose sight of. A sad spectacle it would be, to behold such a nation fading away, and at last dying out, before the onward march of a Christian (?) civilization ! Yet, to this result, the policy of the American Mission unquestionably tends ; by its failure to elevate the social life of the nation, by its neglect to encourage the industrial arts, by its persistent use of the Hawaiian language, which, in its poverty, can never meet the wants of an educated people, and by its neglect of those sanitary measures requisite for the eradicating of that terrible scourge which has poisoned the life-blood of the people, and is fast sweeping the nation itself from the face of the earth. With a population already so greatly reduced, the field opened to the Church is a limited one ; still, the natural resources of the Islands are very great ; there are two districts in Hawaii, which, alone, are capable of sustaining a population more than five times greater than is now found on the entire group. Situated almost midway between Panama, Cal-

ifornia, China, and Australia, the Islands must soon become a commercial point of commanding importance. The Romish Church, notwithstanding the steadfast opposition of the American Mission, already reports (in 1862) 18 European missionaries, 12 "catechist brothers," a convent of 10 nuns, 28 "decent chapels," 30 "chapels built of straw," 80 "religious pupils," a "college" of 40 pupils, 50 "schools," and a total of 23,500 "Catholics," or a membership of more than one-third of the entire number of native inhabitants. The American missionaries have openly threatened "opposition" to the English Mission, and that promise, at least, they will, we doubt not, make good.

All that love, and zeal, and prudence, and unshrinking fidelity can do, we believe the English Mission will do. It now numbers six Clergymen, one of them, Hoapili, a native of the highest rank of native chiefs; besides several teachers; and considerable reinforcements are soon to be sent out. The Prayer Book has already been translated into the Hawaiian language, by the late King. It was the last and crowning work of that remarkable man, and the richest legacy which he left to his beloved people. The words which he himself had indited, were said or chanted over his lifeless remains. The present King has identified himself, thoroughly, with the Hawaiian Mission, and given the Bishop assurance of his confidence and support. He declares that he looks upon the "infant national Church as a sacred legacy bequeathed to him by his brother." All the members of his Cabinet, (with one exception,) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, the Attorney General, and the Governor of Oahu, and the Governor of Maui, are connected with the English Church. The Bishop is chaplain to the present King, and a member of his Privy Council. The temporary Church or Chapel has already been enlarged, and is still crowded to overflowing. Applications for the establishment of branches of the Mission in the other Islands, are already received. We have before us a schedule of the daily work of the Mission; and the breadth of its scope, the method and system with which everything has been arranged, show maturity of counsel, and practical wisdom.

As for the Bishop himself, and the policy which he has adopted in working the Mission, we are able to declare, confidently, that he has been misrepresented by the opponents of the Mission. He was not known at home as an ultra or extreme man. In arranging Services for the Hawaiians, he had, as we know, the advice of some of the most moderate men in the English Church. Nor, in providing an Order of Worship for these imaginative children of the tropics, rather than for the cold intellectual tastes of the north, is it believed that he has gone one step beyond the limit which the Church of England allows. As an independent branch of the Church, that Island Church has the power to establish its own rites and ceremonies; nor, as far as we know or believe, has the Bishop violated a single principle of Catholic order.

That Mission will, we have reason to believe, employ faithfully instrumentalities which, with God's blessing, will not be in vain. The moral strength which the Mission has enlisted at home, will secure it against pecuniary embarrassment. The religious Services will be carefully adapted to the natural tastes and instincts of the people. Religion will be presented, not as an intellectual dogma, addressed to the Reason, but as a System of Faith, and a living, controlling power over the heart and life. God's Covenant of Grace, with its Signs and Seals and Promises, will be treated as realities. Christian Nurture will lay hold of those youthful hearts, before they shall have become polluted by unholy associations and overt acts of sin, and will train them in the ways of purity and habits of virtue. Hospitals and Homes for the outcast will eradicate disease, or blunt the edge of its malignant power. Associated vigilance and charity will stand ready to throw their sheltering care around the weak and the wandering. The gentle ministries of Christian love will keep watch around the couch of the sick and the dying. Christian Schools will educate the minds of the young, and store them with the treasures of learning. The arts of industry and habits of worldly thrift, will be encouraged. The material resources of those rich gems of the ocean will be developed. Is it too much to hope and believe that,

under such influences, a bright and glorious future still awaits the beautiful Hawaiian Islands ?

This Mission, for many reasons, and on the strongest grounds, appeals to the sympathy, and calls for the support of American Churchmen. That Island group lies contiguous to our Pacific coast, and, in its commercial importance, American interests are largely represented. Considerable numbers of our people are continually found upon its shores. The Church owes it to herself and to them to see to it, that American influence there shall not be a blighting, withering power—a fountain of moral death. In happier times, when the terrible pall which now overhangs our land shall be removed, the Church will, we are sure, be ready to meet the full share of her responsibility in such a labor.

ART. IV.—NEW ENGLAND FOREFATHERS' DAY IN
NEW YORK.

Report of the two hundred and forty-fourth Anniversary of the landing of the Forefathers of New England. By the New England Society, at the Astor House, New York City, Dec. 22, 1864.

WHEN the old Puritans left Holland for the New World, there is a tradition that the Dutch bribed the master of the *May Flower* to land his passengers at Cape Cod. Certain it is, that the Puritans had failed in their efforts to purchase of the Dutch a settlement at or near the mouth of the Hudson River. Certain it is, also, that when Elder Brewster and his party sailed from Delft Haven, New Netherland was the point aimed at ; but the *May Flower*, instead of anchoring off Manhattan, entered Cape Cod Harbor, Nov. 10th, 1620. The Dutch had already had a taste of Puritanism at home ; and for some reason were unwilling to see such an element introduced into their new settlement abroad. The clergy of Holland regarded the Puritans "as a set of discontented, factious, and conceited men ; with whom it would be safest to have no connection."* For eleven years the Puritans had lived quietly in Holland ; and they might have remained there peaceably to the day of their death, if they had behaved themselves properly. One of the main reasons for their leaving Holland, they themselves declare to be, "inasmuch as in ten years time, whilst we sojourned among them, *we could not bring them to reform anything amiss among them !*" To those who know the Puritans, that expression tells the whole story. The real truth was, that although they enjoyed every liberty in Holland which they could ask, they could not manage the obstinate Dutchmen and get everything into their own hands ; and were fast losing their influence and even their identity. This was

* O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland, Vol. I, p. 85. Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I.

the party which afterwards landed on Plymouth Rock ; and this was the Episcopal persecution ! which in these days we hear so much of. This whole history of the Puritans in Holland seems to be generally and purposely ignored. It would undoubtedly spoil a good deal of tumid rhetoric, and would serve to rob the shafts of opposition of their poison at least, if not of the hatred with which they are charged.

What the real character of Puritanism was in England, when it had full opportunity to exhibit itself there, admits of no dispute. It was tried there thoroughly, politically, religiously and socially, for twenty years ; and yet the people, sick of Puritan rule, hailed with acclamation the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne, in the person of that miserable specimen of a monarch, the hypocritical profligate, Charles II. What Puritanism did for the religion and morals of the country, we will let their own witnesses testify. Richard Baxter,—pretty good Puritan authority,—describes the *state of Religion* under the Puritan dynasty, in the following language :—

“* ‘What shall I tell you (says he) of all those hideous pamphlets against ordinances, and for the mortality of the soul, and that the soul is God himself, and against the truth of the Scriptures, as downright familism, and libertinism, and paganism. I cannot but think how men cried out against Mr. Edward’s Gangræna at first, as if he had spoken nothing but lies, and now they have justified it with a fearful overplus.’ And yet Mr. Edwards took the liberty of expressing himself in the following manner :

“Gangræna, Ep. Dedicat. ‘We are fallen to madness (says Mr. Edwards, Gangræna, Book I, Part 3, p. 75) and folly, that I am persuaded, that if the Devil came visibly among many, and held out independency and liberty of conscience, and should preach never such false doctrines, as that there were no Devils, no Hell, no sin at all, but these were only men’s imaginations, with several other doctrines, he would be cried up, followed, and admired. And again, (p. 80) We are insensible and not affected, under all the spiritual plagues of heresy, schism, blasphemy, intolerable anarchy ; the fortieth part of these errors, heresies, blasphemies, which are now in the midst of us, would, seven years ago, have made our hearts ache, and our hair stand on end, filled our faces with paleness and blackness, whereas now we make light of them.

“Our evils, (says he,) are not removed or cured, but only changed ; one disease and Devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in its

* Baxter’s Plain Proof of Infants’ Church Membership, p. 147.”

room. Yea, this last extreme is far more high, violent and dangerous in many respects. Have we not worse things come upon us, than ever we had before? Were any of these monsters heard of heretofore which are now common amongst us;—as denying the scriptures, pleading for a toleration of all religions and worship, yea, of blaspheming, and denying there is a God? You have put down the Book of Common Prayer, and there are many amongst us who have put down the Scriptures, slighting them, yea, blaspheming them. You have broken down the images of the Trinity, Christ, Virgin Mary, Apostles; and we have those who overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity, oppose the Divinity of Christ, speak evil of the Virgin Mary, and slight the Apostles. You have cast out the Bishops and their officers, and we have many that cast to the ground all Ministers in the reformed Churches. You have cast out ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Cross, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and we have many that have cast out the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. You have put down Saints' days, and we have many that make nothing at all of the Lord's day, and Fast days. You have taken away the superfluous, excessive maintenance of Bishops and Deans; and we have many who take away and cry down the necessary maintenance of Ministers. In the Bishops days we had the singing of Psalms taken away in some places, conceived prayer and preaching, and in their room anthems, stinted forms and reading brought in; and now we have singing of Psalms spoken against, and cast out of some Churches, yea, all public prayer questioned, and all ministerial preaching denied. In the Bishops' days we had many unlearned Ministers, and have we not now a company of Jeroboam's Priests? In the Bishops' days we had the fourth commandment taken away, but now we have all the ten commandments taken away at once by the Antinomians, yea, all Faith and Gospel denied. The worst of the Prelates, in the midst of many Arminian tenets, and popish innovations, held many sound doctrines, and had many commendable practices; yea, the very Papists hold and keep to many Articles of Faith and truths of God, have some order amongst them, encourage learning, have certain fixed principles of truth, with practices of devotion and good works; but many of the sects and sectaries, in our days, deny all principles of religion, are enemies to all holy duties, order and learning, overthrowing all."

The manner in which the Puritans treated consecrated Churches, and works of Art dedicated to the service of the Trinity, the moderate Bishop Hall describes in their desecration of the noble old Church of Norwich.

"* It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, [an Alderman,] and Tosts the

* Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*, p. 63."

Sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments and pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! What tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country, when in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross, which had newly been sawn down from over the green-yard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place! A lewd wretch, walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating an impious scorn, the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the Church."

Heylin, in his *History of the Presbyterians*, (p. 453,) thus describes the profanation of the old Abbey Church of Westminster:—

"That some soldiers of Weshborne and Caywood's companies, were quartered in the Abbey Church, (as the rest of our modern reformers,) they broke down the rail about the altar, and burnt it in the place where it stood; they broke down the organ, and pawned the pipes at several ale-houses for pots of ale; they put on some of the singing men's surplices, and in contempt of the canonical habits, ran up and down the Church; he that wore the surplice was the hare, the rest were the hounds. To show their Christian liberty, in the use of things, and that all consecration, or hallowing of things under the Gospel, is but a Jewish or Popish superstition, and that they are no longer to be accounted holy, than that holy use to which they serve, shall, by the actual use, only impart a transient holiness to them, they set forms about the Communion Table, there they eat and there they drink ale, and tobacco; some of their own Levites (if my intelligence deceive me not) bearing them company, and countenancing so beastly a profanation."

The horrible uses to which they appropriated the Altar, were so vile that we shall not defile our pages with a description. Nor shall we repeat the story of the cold-blooded murders and fiendish atrocities which Cromwell's party were guilty of in Ireland.* The Dutch authorities, knowing the Puritans thoroughly, as they did, even then, it is not strange that they

* Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, pp. 333-368.

were averse to introducing them into their promising Colony in New Netherland; whatever may have been the reasons given for the refusal. Whether the story of bribing the master of the *May Flower* be true or not,—which Secretary Morton affirms, and is in itself natural enough though it is not capable of actual proof,—yet no sooner had the Puritan Colonies become established in New England, than a bitter opposition began to manifest itself against the Colony of New Netherland, and the same spirit was shown after that Colony passed under English rule. Here was a constantly occurring source of trouble with old Wouter Van Twiller, Director General of the Dutch Colony, as also his successors in office, Petrus Stuyvesant and Willem Kieft. The Union of the New England Colonies, in 1643, had opposition to the Dutch as one of its leading objects; and when the Dutch, at New Netherland, in that same year, in imminent danger of extermination by the Indians, implored assistance from the New Haven Colony, that assistance was cruelly and inhumanly refused.* And yet all this is ignored, or glossed over, by Puritan historians. A writer says:—

“It can scarcely be believed, that men so conscientious that they considered themselves in duty bound not to make the least concession in any disputed point about religious rituals,—men, so highly revering the Holy Scriptures, that they considered themselves in duty bound to distinguish their cities and villages [and children] by Biblical names,—should so little care about their Netherland neighbors of the same religious profession; should so little respect their anterior possession.”†

With this brief episode of Puritan history, and which has its bearing on what is to follow, we come now to the special point of present consideration. On the 22d of December last, the descendants of the Puritans in the city of New York, assembled to celebrate their “Forefathers’ Day.” That was all well enough. New York is too cosmopolitan in its character not to comprise of course great numbers of the sons of those who first landed on the bleak sterile shores of New England. We would do full justice to the shrewdness and thrift

* O’Callaghan’s *History of New Netherland*, Vol. I, Ch. iv.

† Lambrechtsen’s *New Netherland*, in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

which this race of men exhibit wherever they go. It is proper also to say, that not a few of the sons of New England, under the more genial influences which prevail here, lose utterly that intense petty provincialism which characterizes New England Puritanism, and become, as among the most successful and honored, so also among the noblest in their various spheres ; as merchants, bankers, lawyers and literary men ; thoroughly American, and large hearted, in sympathy and influence. But when the sons of the old Puritans, on their "Forefathers' Day," here in the city of New York, meet to attribute virtues, and excellencies, and influences, to those men, which did not belong to them, to ascribe principles to them which they grossly belied, and to hold up those men for the exclusive admiration of us modern New Yorkers, and all this to the disparagement of the early founders of the New York Colony, and the principles and policy which they established, then we have something to say. It was this nauseous, fulsome adulation of Puritanism, and this studied disparagement of the Church under whose auspices the English New York Colony was so long conducted, and on a "Forefathers' Day," that brought the departed and amiable Wainwright to his feet, and led to a discussion which ought to have taught those men to be more truthful, more modest, and better mannered. American Free Institutions, founded by Puritans ! Freedom of Conscience, a legacy from Puritanism ! Our Free Civil Institutions, so far from owing their origin to Puritans, on the contrary, were moulded by a body of men of whom New England furnished but a small minority ; and the leading spirits of those illustrious men were born and nourished in the very bosom of that Church which these assailants would hold up to the odium of the world. Who were such men as Washington, and Madison, and Jay, and Hamilton, and King, and Marshall, and Rutledge, and the Pinckneys, and Monroe, and the Lees, and Nelson, and the Harrisons, the Randolphins, and Livingston, and Morris, and Duer, and Troup, and hosts of others, but Churchmen ? And who was the first man ever officially invited to spread our country's cause before the God

of battles, but a minister of the Altar of that Church, now charged as being allied to the very genius of despotism ?

The persistence with which this intense egotism and self-conceit cling to the descendants of the Puritans, is really something wonderful. No facts of history seem in the slightest degree to check it. It stands always unabashed ; ever ready, with cheek distended, to trumpet its own praise. It has had control of the making of most of our modern histories and school books, used in our Common Schools, and it has not failed either to give them a Puritan hue, or to fill them with such untruthful and slanderous statements.*

At the last "Forefathers' Day in New York, in speaking to the toast, "the State of New York," a gentleman remarked, "that he would congratulate the audience that in ten days New York would have a governor who understood the principles of the Puritans, and would not hesitate to avow them." And he then read a letter from an officer of the army, who thus delivered himself concerning the early Puritans :—

"It could hardly have required prophetic vision to have seen that, before such indomitable spirit and hard enterprise, the wildness of the new world, and its savage occupants, must give way and disappear; that when the mother country, from whose persecutions they fled, should stretch out her hand to impose new oppressions, these sturdy adventurers would protest, battle, and conquer; that when the foundation of a new nation was to be laid, the largest civil and religious freedom should be secured to all."

And all this was read and rapturously applauded, in the presence of educated gentlemen, and passed unrebuked. With the general history of Puritanism, either in the Old World or the New, we are not now concerned. We have given, above, a brief sketch of what Puritanism was in England ; and if any body believes that the Puritans in New England can be acquitted of the charge of the grossest duplicity, hypocrisy, and cruelty, we shall not discuss that question at the present time. But let us see what these "principles of the Puritans" really were ; what this "LARGEST CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM"

* See Goodrich's History, with Emerson's Questions; Smith's Geography; Frost's United States; Parley's First Book of History; Pierpont's National Reader.

was, which, on the late "Forefathers' Day," was commended to our grateful commemoration. Here are specimens of the Colonial Laws of Connecticut:—

"This Court orders that henceforth no persons in this Jurisdiction shall in any way embody themselves into Church estate, without consent of the General Court and approbation of the neighboring Churches." *

"This Court orders that there shall be no ministry or Church administration by the inhabitants of any plantation in this Colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed, and dispensed by the settled and approved minister of the place, except it be by approbation of the General Court and neighboring Churches." †

For behaving contemptuously "towards the word preached or the messengers thereof"—it was ordered—"And if a second time they break forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the public treasure, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four feet high, upon a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCES." ‡

"It is ordered and decreed by this Court, and authority thereof, that wheresoever the ministry of the word is established, according to the order of the Gospel throughout this jurisdiction, every person shall duly resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lord's day, and upon such public fast days, and days of Thanksgiving, as are to be generally kept by the appointment of authority. And if any person within this jurisdiction, shall, without just and necessary cause, withdraw himself from hearing the public ministry of the word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such public meeting, five shillings." §

For the support of this Puritan establishment, it was ordered as follows,—“And do order that those who are taught in the word, in the several plantations, be called together, that every man voluntarily set down what he is willing to allow to that end and use: And if any man refuse to pay a meet proportion, that then he be rated by authority in some just and equal way; and if, after this, any man withhold or delay due payment, *the civil power to be exercised as in other just debts.*” ||

Now let us see what these Puritans in Massachusetts really meant by this “natural right to liberty of conscience.”

“It is ordered that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of this Commonwealth.” ¶

* 1657.—Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. 1636-1655. p. 311.

† 1657.—*Ib.*, p. 311. ‡ 1650.—*Ib.*, p. 524. § *Ib.*, p. 524. || *Ib.*, p. 545.

¶ May, 1631.—Mass. Bay Col. Laws, Ch. xlix, Sec. i.

"It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way, upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending, shall pay for every such offense, five shillings, as a fine to the County." *

"This Court doth order and enact that every person or persons of the *cursed sect* of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended (without warrant, where no Magistrate is at hand) by any Constable, Commissioner, or Selectman, and conveyed from Constable to Constable, until they come before the next Magistrate, who shall commit the said person or persons to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next Court of Assistants; where they shall have a legal trial by a special jury, and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."

"Every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, * * * * and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions and practices, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death." †

The method of executing the banishment was as follows :

The Quaker was to be "directed to the Constable of the town wherein he, or she, is taken, or in absence of the Constable to any other meet person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town, and from thence immediately conveyed to the Constable of the next town towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as their warrant shall direct; and so from Constable to Constable, till they be conveyed through any the outwardmost towns of our jurisdiction." ‡

We may add that this law was soon after made much more intolerable.

"Any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other; if a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, *man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron.*" §

Hildreth also gives an account of "the young husband of one of them following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner !" ||

* *Ib.*, Ch. I, Sec. ii. † *Ib.*, Ch. II, Sec. ix. ‡ 1661.—Col. Laws, Ch. II, Sec. x.

§ Haliburton's Rule and Misrule, p. 102.

|| Hildreth's United States, vol. i, p. 473.

"And if after this, *he or she* shall return again, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace, and shall immediately be apprehended and committed to the common gaol of the county, and at the next Court of Assistants, shall be brought to their trial, and proceeded against according to the law made Anno 1658, for their punishment on pain of death."*

"It is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court, that if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresy, as denying * * * that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, * * * every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall pay to the common treasurer, during the first six months, twenty shillings a month, and for the next six months, forty shillings per month, and so to continue during his obstinacy."†

"It is ordered and enacted by authority of this Court, that no Jesuit, or spiritual, or ecclesiastical person, (as they are termed,) ordained by the authority of the Pope, or see of Rome, shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this jurisdiction; and if any person shall give just cause of suspicion that he is one of such society or order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspicion, he shall be committed to prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by banishment or otherwise, as the Court shall see cause.

"And if any person so banished be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, *he shall be put to death.*"‡

Such was Puritan "Freedom of Conscience!" It was the "freedom" of believing just as the Puritans believed, or being subjected to stripes, fines, imprisonment and death. No! gentlemen of the New England Society, you yourselves know that there is not the slightest foundation for such a claim. The only proof offered on the late Forefathers' Day, was some sentimental jingles by Mrs. Hemans, which, if we recollect aright, she herself, after they had been published, qualified or recalled. In the Laws cited above, we have the very thing itself; and the Churchmen, Quakers, and Romanists of that day knew, in their own bitter experience, that those Laws were not a dead letter. So far from believing in "liberty of conscience," on the contrary, a more thoroughly intolerant set of men never lived on the face of the earth than those self-same Puritans, who are now commended to our grateful reverence,

* Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. ii.

† *Ib.*, Ch. li, Sec. xiii.

‡ *Ib.*, Ch. liv.

and whose "principles," we are told, are to be enforced among us. There was neither religious freedom nor civil freedom among them. At a General Court, held in the Colony of New Haven, at New Haven, Oct. 27, 1643,

"It was agreed and concluded," [we quote their own words] "as a fundamental order not to be disputed or questioned hereafter, that none shall be admitted to be free Burgesses in any of the Plantations within this jurisdiction for the future, but such Planters as are members of some or other of the approved Churches in New England." *

The Laws in the Massachusetts Colony, as we have seen above, were of the same character.

In respect to the subject of Slavery, the speakers at this meeting on "Forefathers' Day" seemed to take for granted, that that movement now going on, by which the institution of Domestic Slavery is losing forever its political power, and is fast approaching utter annihilation, is only the carrying out of the principles of the old Puritans. We have heard the same thing affirmed again and again, on other occasions, and by men who ought to know better. The real facts in the case have been given at length, in a former number of this Review, and need not be repeated here. One of the very first things which the Puritans did in this country was to establish Slavery. They enslaved the Indians. They enslaved the negroes. They even sold into bondage Irish and Scotch, who had been taken as prisoners in the old country, and sent as prisoners to New England. They enslaved, or sold into Slavery, some of their own people, for giving shelter to persecuted Quakers. In the Convention to form the National Constitution, when the question of extending the Slave Trade came up, the motion to grant such extension was seconded by a New England Puritan; and when the final vote was taken, the New England members voted unanimously for that extension, in league with the extreme Southern or Gulf States; while, on the other hand, the Middle States, which were under either Church or anti-Puritan influences, all voted against the extension of the Slave Trade, and bore manly testimony to their convictions in the debates in

* Lambert's History of the Colony of New Haven, p. 23.

the Convention on the subject.* And so, also, when the Slave Trade itself was reopened in South Carolina, and African negroes were captured, and brought to this country and sold into bondage, New England was the first to engage in the traffic, and the very last to abandon it. These are the plain, naked facts of history; although, as we have said, Puritan Histories and Puritan School books habitually ignore them. Really, there is something almost of sublimity, in the cool impudence with which these men now come forward and lay exclusive claim to certain social virtues.

Now, if the "New England Society" in New York will have the honesty and candor not to insult our intelligence by such ridiculous eulogies of the Puritans, they will save us from the necessity of opening to the light of day these old records, which are a disgrace to humanity, and which may well be suffered to sink into forgetfulness. But we are living in what was once not a Puritan, but a Dutch and English Colony. That Colony had and always had its own settled policy. We do not claim for that policy entire exemption from errors and blunders; but we do claim, as one of its distinguishing and noble features, that here the citizens of every land and every Creed have been freely welcomed. Even the refugees from Puritan intolerance in New England, as the historian DeLaet says, by "whole towns," here found "that liberty denied them by their own countrymen," and this was one secret of the cruel opposition which the Dutch Colony received from that source. The spirit and genius of the government and institutions of New York have been of this broad and liberal character. English Cavaliers, Hollanders, French Huguenots, and Germans, here mingled their best blood, and they have made New York what she is to-day, the metropolis of the New World. If she has not been perpetually blowing her own trumpet, and writing School books to blazon and belie her own history, she has been doing a nobler work in making the history and moulding the destinies of a great nation. In the Cabinet and in the field, in the Council Chambers of the Nation and on the Bench, in

* Madison Papers, Vol. III., pp. 1415, 1427-29.

Literature and Art, in Commerce and in all the activities of material enterprise, her sons have been first and foremost. Her Livingstons, her Hamiltons, her Jays, her Schuylers, her Fultons, her Clintons, her Morrisises, her Kents, her Irvings, if they have not resolved themselves into a "Mutual Admiration Society," if their motto has been *esse quam videri*, have yet done a work which will not fail of just appreciation when the real history of the country shall be written, and when that great truth-teller, Time, shall pronounce her verdict. When soldiers have been wanted for the battle-field, or gold for an exhausted treasury, when pinching want in Greece, and Ireland, and England, has called for bread, when great movements in the commercial, scientific, literary, and religious world have sought for counsel, recognition, and aid, then public sentiment has turned to New York, as promptly as the needle to the pole. We do not praise New York; New Yorkers have never yet learned to praise themselves. Yet, as the illustrious Chancellor Kent said, "If I do not greatly deceive myself, there is no portion of the history of this country which is more instructive or calculated to embellish our national character, than the history of this State. It will be found, upon examination, as fruitful as the records of any other people, in recitals of heroic actions, and in images of resplendent virtue. It is equally well fitted to elevate the pride of ancestry, to awaken deep feeling, and kindle generous emulation."

In conclusion, we beg to say to the New England Society, that we stand ready to do all proper honor to the memory of the old Puritans. They had certain stern, rugged virtues. They had certain glaring and most offensive faults. If the descendants of those old Puritans, here among us, shall prove themselves incapable of assimilating with what we know to be a different, and believe to be a nobler type of social life; if they will insist, that, on every possible occasion, this paltry, conceited, clannish provincialism, this exclusive, ungenerous, grasping claim to power, and place, and fame, shall be flaunted in our faces, and that, too, at the sacrifice of all historic truth, and of all that we owe to the founders of this Colony,—then we submit to them, whether it is not most natural to wish that

the old master of the May Flower had been bribed by the Dutch to land his cargo a good many leagues north even of Cape Cod. At any rate, we may congratulate ourselves, that this element, however disagreeable it may prove itself to be in social life at all times, and however it may manage to worm itself into a little notoriety here and there and call it fame, is yet an exotic plant in New York ; and can never take deep root in such an uncongenial soil. The influences which planted New York, and have made it what it is, are too deeply inwrought, too diffusive, too powerful, to be dwarfed and cramped by the efforts of any such little coterie.

Gentlemen of the "New England Society !" If you will keep "Forefathers' Day" in New York, please pay a little decent regard to what is due to manly courtesy, and to the history of the past. But if you will insist, that even New Yorkers shall bow down before such an idol as Puritanism, we tell you honestly and frankly, that its hard, sharp features do not seem to us the highest perfection of beauty and comeliness ; and that its nasal twang does not sound in our hearing like the harmony of the spheres.

ART. V.—THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY AND THE POETS
OF CONNECTICUT.

1. *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1865. Boston.
2. *Past Meridian*. By Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY. Hartford : Brown & Gross.

THE *Atlantic Monthly*, in an article entitled "The Pleiades of Connecticut," asserts that Connecticut has never produced a poet ! and the attempt is made to ridicule the early poets of that State as mere pretenders. Wolcott, Trumbull, Dwight, Humphreys, Barlow, Hopkins and Alsop, according to the critic, imposed themselves on their ignorant cotemporaries as a constellation of stars in the galaxy of genius.

"While the constellation was shining over Connecticut," says the author of the "Pleiades," "each bright star had its own particular twinkle. Trumbull's 'Progress of Dullness,' in three Cantos, is an imitation of Goldsmith, *two lines* only of which, have survived. (?) The Reverend Mr. Brainless when called and settled,

'On Sunday in his best array,
Deals forth the dullness of the day.'

Why these two lines should be thus honored, is doubtless because they chance to hit the *orthodox clergy* of that day. Of Trumbull's *chef-d'œuvre*, McFingal, the critic acknowledges that it pleased the taste of the times, and that thirty editions were soon 'sold ;' but "there was no copy-right law in the land," and, in the classic and elegant language of the critic, "Trumbull took more praise than solid pudding by his poetry."

As to Timothy Dwight, "like Timotheus of Greece, he wrote a war chant ; he wrote *psalms*," (orthodox !) "True to the literary instincts of the Pleiades, he *shines* with reflected light, and *works* after Thomson and Goldsmith so closely that in many passages imitation passes into parody." The descendants of the Pilgrim fathers had the old Saxon blood in their

veins, bounding and coursing not the less strongly and freely for the change from the tame English scenery to the grandeur of the majestic features of New England, and the free air of its mountains and forests. Shall we spurn our own birth-right of free thoughts and untrammelled genius, quailing before the prestige of the old world writers ! Or shall a sister State tolerate an attempt to ridicule those whose venerated names the youth of Connecticut were taught to respect as significant of the pioneers of literature, by calling them *superficial, thieving Yankees, impostors and quack poets* !

"Connecticut," says the critic, "is pleasant, with wooded hills and a beauteous river; plenteous with *tobacco and cheese*; fruitful of *merchants, missionaries*," (but these missionaries do not preach the modern doctrines of progress and no-faith), *sailors, peddlers and single women*;—but there are no poets known to exist there, unless it be that well-paid band who write the rhymed puffs of cheap garments and cosmetics. * * * The enterprising natives can turn out any article on which a profit may be made,—except poetry."

Setting aside the earlier poets of Connecticut, had the critic never heard of Percival ? the very soul and fire of poetic genius, of the loftiest type ! Has he never heard of Brainerd, and of Halleck ? Of the latter poet, Griswold says :

"There is in his composition an essential pervading grace, a natural brilliancy of wit, a freedom yet refinement of sentiment, a sparkling flow of fancy, and a power of personification combined with such high and careful finish, and such exquisite nicety of taste, that the larger part of them must be regarded as models almost faultless in the classes to which they belong."

Bryant says of him, "in no poet can be found passages which flow with more sweet and liquid smoothness." And Tuckerman says, "his Marco Bozzaris is, perhaps, the best martial lyric in the language." But it seems the critic in the *Atlantic Monthly* has never heard of him. Has he ever heard of Prentice ? or of Hillhouse ? or of Burgess ? or of Williams ? or of Croswell, that true Christian Poet of the Cross and the Church ? Perhaps such things are out of date at Boston. Either one of these names is enough to rescue the State from the reproach which *The Atlantic* seeks to cast upon it ; and either one has enough of the buoyant power of life to keep afloat a much larger craft than the *Atlantic Monthly*.

And can America afford to blot out the name of Sigourney from the list of the world's poets of the nineteenth century? Her reputation, though it may not have reached Boston! is yet, world-wide; standing beside that of Felicia Hemans in Europe; not a whit below, with a genius of wider scope and loftier range, and numbers no less smooth and graceful.

The writer of the "Pleiades" has attempted to deprive the classic shades of Yale College, of Hartford, Litchfield and every other nook and corner of Connecticut, of all credit for aught that is noble in intellect, or admirable in genius. According to him, there never has been, nor ever can be native Poetry in that State; because "machinery, money-making and peddling, turn and fill the brains of the people." Let Arthur Cleveland Coxe no longer refer with pride to his Connecticut ancestor, Aaron Cleveland, the mantle of whose poetic genius has been supposed to have fallen upon his gifted descendant, inspiring the thrilling numbers of those exquisite Ballads and Sacred Songs, which have given the young prelate in Europe the appellation of the American Keble. And yet no poet, according to "Pleiades," ever lived in Connecticut.

And what is Poetry! Who shall define it? We can better say what it is not. It is not detraction; the faculty of seeing things under their worst and most belittling aspect. Such a faculty is not only unpoetical, but must prevent its possessor from discerning poetry in others. There is poetry in all that is grand and beautiful in Nature and Art, in Science and Literature. There was poetry in the minds of John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and Edward Everett, though their attempts at versification add nothing to their fame. They were too philosophical, too real for the true poetical *abandon*. The *cui bono* in its highest sense, as affecting the welfare of nations, the rights of Sovereign States and of the individual man, with the practical work of philanthropy, is not favorable to the flights of fancy in the regions of poetry; and yet in itself it is in the highest degree poetical.

We sometimes find a remarkable combination in the same mind, of a poetic temperament with the capacity of minute observation. Mrs. Sigourney is an exemplification of this, as

we turn from the perusal of her many books to observe the beautiful order of her own classic cottage home, where every vine-tendril is gracefully trained by her own hand, and every work of art, or cluster of flowers, is carefully placed or arranged. A mind which can stoop to the minute, and yet soar to the sublimest heights, is the most perfect representation of Him Who though

"He rules and watches all,
Scorns not the least of all His works."

To the true poet of Nature, the most common objects appear under peculiar aspects. The ordinary scenes and associations of life become poetical to a higher gifted mind; the gushing forth of song is a melody which those can feel who could not have produced it. The Christian poet carries the soul above these earthly scenes, even into the presence-chamber of the great Author of all things. The inspiration of the heathen muse is not needed by him who can say, in the words of a poet of Connecticut:

"No, no, a lonelier, lovelier path be mine;
Grèce and her charms I leave for Palestine,
There purer streams through happier valleys flow,
And sweeter flowers on holier mountains grow."

Leaving the critic of *The Atlantic Monthly*, to whose petty attempt at piquant wit we have given more attention than it deserves, in conclusion we notice briefly the work placed at the head of these pages, the production of the gifted pen of one who is a prose-writer as well as a poet. It is the fifth edition of "Past Meridian," revised and enlarged by the author, a work which will gladden the hearts of many weary travellers in life's journey. The large open type and superior paper are well adapted to the imperfection of vision, which is one of the first indications of advancing years. The subjects of the several chapters are, The A. M.'s and P. M.'s; Old; Reporters; The Custody of Knowledge; The Beauty of Age; Air; Domestic Anniversaries; Patriotic Recollections; Accomplishments; Privileges of Age; Longevity and Intellectual Labor; Aged Divines; Cheerful Old Women; Westering Sun-

beams ; About Money ; The Amenities ; The Pleasures of Winter ; A New Existence. This book should be read by the young and middle-aged, as affording delicate suggestions in regard to their duties to their seniors, in softening their descent to the dark river which divides from the land of rest and peace. What more acceptable present than this book to those who are "growing old ;" cheering them with the companionship of those who in advanced age have been lovely, happy and useful ? and how much more delicately we may remind others of their duties to us by presenting them with this volume, than by formal homilies ? In the current phraseology of the day, we think "it would pay ;" and when an outlay of money, be the sum large or small, brings a return of tenderness or sympathy, it may be considered "a good investment."

As a prose writer, Mrs. Sigourney may be commended for grace and perspicuity of style ; often rising to high poetic beauty. We give a single example from the many which the book before us affords :—

"All along the way, there is happiness for those whose hearts are in unison with the Divine Will. With a prayer of penitence for the erring past, and a hymn of faith for the joyous future, they pass onward, their Christian graces maturing day by day, under the clear shining of the Sun of Righteousness. Thus may it be with us, until the last, bright drop of this brief existence shall be exhaled."

ART. VI.—BUCKLE'S HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.

History of Civilization in England. By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. Two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

THIS work has been reviewed several times within the last few years ; but so far as we have observed, no writer has treated it in such manner as to give to those who have not read the book, any clear idea of its import, or the ground which the author occupies. Mr. Buckle evidently proposed to organize Infidelity on a new basis, and perhaps to place himself at the head of a new school of skeptics. Not that his theory is wholly original ; for many of his ideas, and even their mode of presentation, are but republications of the various infidel contributions of the last century. Yet, there is much in his work that is, at least novel in mode, if not original in conception ; and should he succeed in organizing the skeptical mind of the age on his basis, it might perhaps be appropriately denominated, "The Eclectic School." His great work on the "History of Civilization in England" fully embodies his theory ; though it is understood that he did not live to complete it, as projected.

It is not a work to be despised, nor dismissed with a jest, a sneer, or a sarcasm. It is a work of labor and research ; and the best scholar of any age might read it with profit, and even linger over many of its pages with satisfaction and delight. Many of his generalizations, too, are manly, and evince a strength and acuteness of observation above most writers of the nineteenth century ; and some of his conclusions strike the reader almost with the force of logic and the freshness of originality. His Historical Notes on England, France, Spain, and Scotland, are generally reliable, so far as they concern facts which he wishes to present. That they indulge largely in that figure of speech, the "*Suppressio Veri*," we suppose the author

himself would not have hesitated to admit. As his object was manifestly to "make a point," rather than to write a history, he did not feel obliged to trouble himself with such facts as could not serve his purpose. Could the force of the work have been comprised within a single volume of four or five hundred pages, it would have been the most taking of modern infidel publications, since the style is easy and the matter readily apprehended. Its great length, however, together with its philosophic title, will repel most young persons; and those more likely to peruse it thoroughly will, we think, be generally able to detect its fallacies. Hence, we do not regard it as a book likely to exert so much influence for evil as some have apprehended.

After enunciating his purpose,—to elevate history above its present "empirical" state, and to place it on a level, in respect of dignity and respectability, with the Natural Sciences,—he proceeds to grapple with the question:—"Are the actions of men, and therefore, of societies, governed by fixed laws, or are they the result, either of chance, or of supernatural interference?" This question really gives the key-note of his whole work. The theory of chance, he justly repudiates, and thus differs from most atheists; but strangely, as we think, he arrives at the conclusion that the doctrine of Free Will is but the metaphysical result of chance. The grand idea of "Necessary Connection," he lays hold of with great vigor, and makes the leading idea of his whole work. This, he says, when cast in the theological mind, or resolved into a religious dogma, is identical with the doctrine of predestination, as held by the Westminster divines. We shall not argue this point with him, as Puritan reviewers are already out to show that he has misrepresented them, and that there is no connection between his dogma and theirs. According to his philosophy, nothing can ever occur, in either the world of matter or of mind, which is not the inevitable result of some antecedent, necessarily leading to it. Every movement of matter and of mind is to be regarded in the light of necessary sequence, and hence, could not have been prevented.

This, however, is not an original idea. To say nothing of its ancient teachers, it was held by the late Robert Owen, and many other skeptical philosophers of modern times ; and has even been carried to the monstrous conclusion, that no man is to be held responsible for his actions, any more than Dr. Bushnell would have him responsible for his belief, or for "the formation of the blood which circulates through his veins, or the anatomic frame which he inhabits." This, of course, is fatalism, undisguised ; ignoring alike the doctrine of chance, as held by most atheists, and that of Divine agency, as taught by Religion. Every event, every incident, comes in the way of "Necessary Connection," above chance, but without God. He calls our attention to the statistical tables of Europe, to show that the casualties to life are, under all circumstances, about the same, every year ; that the number of murders, without collusion or concert of action, is generally about the same, every year ; so of suicides, and of all sorts of crimes, and also of virtues. This uniformity in the virtues and the vices of men, he refers to certain causes and influences which are ever operating on humanity ; and hence, the intellectual and moral phenomena of the world must be characterized by the same regularity as are the seasons, the wind, the rain, and the sunshine. All the actions of men, he refers to the operation of a general law.

"And the special question, as to who shall commit the crime, depends, of course, upon special laws ; which, however, in their total action, must obey the large social law to which they are all subordinate. And the power of the larger law is so irresistible, that neither the love of life, nor the fear of another world, can avail anything towards even checking its operation."

After this clear statement of his views, as to the true cause of all actions, good and bad, we should suppose that he would have left us to draw our own deductions from his principles ; but lest we should not do them justice, he proceeds :—

"We have here parallel chains of evidence, formed with extreme care, under the most different circumstances, and all pointing in the same direction ; all of them forcing us to the conclusion, that the offenses of men are the result, not so much of the vices of the individual offender, as of the state of society in which the individual is thrown."

It is always well to admit the minor truths of an opponent, however false may be the general tenor of his argument. We need not hesitate to grant that there is some truth in this capital idea of "Necessary Connection." All agree that allowance should be made, in our estimate of the merit or demerit of men, for the circumstances surrounding and operating upon them. We qualify our censure of actions, and of men, on the ground of inherited tendency, defective education, false impressions, great excitement, or extreme poverty. The laws of all civilized States allow the exercise of executive clemency on these grounds; and the moral sense of Christendom approves it. But the assumption that these causes have a "Necessary Connection" with crime, and inevitably lead to it, overriding all civil, social, and moral barriers, so as to destroy the responsibility of actions, is too monstrous to be entertained, and carries its own refutation with it. Applied practically, it would abolish all law, and destroy all society. Hence, it is impracticable, and therefore not true. For, whatever is true and right must be practicable. Its prime object evidently was to annihilate responsibility and silence the upbraidings of an accusing conscience.

In his applications of this dogma, Mr. Buckle confines himself, for the most part, to the field of politics, or to large masses of men organized in civil Societies or States. At one time, he does admit that the experience of an individual may furnish an exception to his rule; but we cannot forget the language of his leading question:—"Are the actions of men, and therefore of societies, governed by fixed laws?" And the whole tenor of his argument goes to show that he expects whole States to be affected just as the individual man is affected. In fact, he insists, throughout, on the largest individualism. Some of his applications of his dogma are plausible; as where he attempts to show the folly of legislation in advance of public sentiment, or against customs which are deeply seated in society. He boldly takes the ground that the wisest legislation of a State is always found in expediency, and the most entire conformity to the general current of public opinion. General principles of truth and righteousness, he disdains; and asserts

that the idea of applying moral principles, moral laws or moral motives, to human actions, is wild, impracticable, and opposed to the fundamental laws of humanity. He emphatically declares that truth should be the last thing sought for, and that expediency alone must govern, in all human affairs; nay, that what is true, and right, at one time will be false and wrong, at another time.

But there is a difficulty in Mr. Buckle's theory. He has not told us how it is with those uniform laws of action on which he insists, ever tending in the same direction, he should yet find a necessity for such irregularity in human laws; and that truth itself should be ever changing into falsehood, and falsehood into truth; and why it is that no uniform principles of legislation and government can be tolerated. We should suppose that the uniform forces by which all human agency, and human will, are overborne, would preserve such regularity in the condition of society, as to make the same treatment proper at all times. Facetiously, we might say, that his large and general laws are the steam which ever tends in the same direction, and that society is the wheel which is driven; and yet, as a matter of fact, this is ever changing in its direction. From our stand-point, we can readily perceive the operation of external causes, and individual volition; and hence, can well understand how general principles may, for a time, be held in abeyance, until a better state of things shall supervene; but from his point of observation, we have a right to expect eternal uniformity, and inflexible devotion to certain principles, in all human legislation. Perhaps his law of "Necessary Connection" is not so uniform and necessary, even in his own mind, as he seems to fancy, at the outset of his argument. Indeed, near the close of his life, he confessed that his machinery of social life needed re-adjusting.

Another grave question arises;—How, according to this dogma, can any great reform be effected, either in the State or the individual? According to his law, when a certain state of things exists, tending, by "Necessary Connection," to induce the same, or another state of things, and this, another, and so on, forever; and this tendency so strong as to override all

human agencies and appliances, we confess that we see no encouragement to any work of reform. Nay, he even insists that it is wrong to attempt to break up this chain of sequences, and urges that, instead of throwing obstructions in the way, or seeking to check or restrain the natural tendency, everything should be done to favor it. Hence, he opposes the whole idea of legislating against popular vices, and especially of preaching the Gospel to the heathen. It is natural that certain persons should be vicious, and that ignorant heathen should be without the knowledge of God ; and therefore nothing should be done to change their condition. Let them alone, he would say, until they shall come right by the natural course of things ; and then you can legislate and preach to advantage. Or, he might rather say, preaching and legislation will then be altogether unnecessary.

Let us consider this matter a little. Nothing is better established in Ethics and Mental Philosophy, than the tendency of all vices and virtues to perpetuate themselves ; and when once resolved into habit, they become deeply seated in the character, and difficult of extirpation. All moral teachers, Greek, Roman and Christian, have recognized this as a fundamental law, and have laid great stress upon it. We look for inflexible integrity to the man whose virtues have long been matters of settled habit. It may be safely assumed that there is no natural tendency in vice to reform itself. Experience may teach the folly of a course of wrong doing, and thus direct attention to a rule of right which, before, had escaped observation ; but experience alone has never taught men the sinfulness of their course, nor suggested an authoritative rule of right. All history forbids the idea of the heathen ever rising of themselves to a purer moral code and a holier religion. It was the Gospel which first sent the thrill of life through the wilderness of Europe, and redeemed it from barbarism ; it was the military power of Mohammedanism which extinguished the light of the Gospel in Asia and Africa, and erected a barbaric system on the ruins of the Church. Besides, Love, Truth is aggressive in its very nature ; and however Mr. Buckle's theory may appear in contrast, there is no law of nature more potent

than this ; the law of aggression, which impels every good man to wage war against sin, to attack it in its strongholds, and seek to supersede it by pure morals and a true religion. The idea of correcting sin by indulgence, or by direct encouragement, astounds common sense, and is an outrage on all human history.

There is another point in Mr. Buckle's philosophy. We might naturally expect him to be very charitable to those "erring mortals" who have violated the law of propriety. But strangely enough, we find him incessantly dealing denunciation especially against Kings and Priests, and all the advocates of conservatism and Religion. He anathematizes Charles I., and Laud, in the most unmeasured terms, and signs their death-warrant anew, with a freedom and gusto which might be refreshing to a cannibal. And all this, let it be observed, while he is strongly maintaining that the "Connection" between their conduct and the age in which they lived, was "Necessary;" and that it would have been most unnatural for them to act in any way differently from what they did.

After all his ado about the law of "Necessary Connection," we cannot avoid the conviction that Mr. Buckle's chief object in writing was to eliminate God and everything Supernatural, and especially Christianity, from the universe. To this point he returns again and again. Religion is with him the synonym of ignorance and superstition ; and he earnestly insists that humanity can never take its normal position in the scale of being, nor properly fulfil its destiny, until it is freed from such vulgarity. We cannot determine from his book, whether he believes in God, in any sense. If so, it must be the pantheistic idea of God in Universal Nature. This is the highest notion of Divinity which can be reconciled to the general tenor of his thoughts. And yet all the grandeur of Pantheism is spoiled by another of his ideas, which he presents at the opening of his third Chapter : to wit, that Nature is and should ever be subordinate to Man. In praise of European Civilization, he says, "the tendency has been in Europe to subordinate Nature to Man ; and out of Europe, to subordinate Man to Nature." Hence, if Nature is God, he makes the God of the European

inferior to man ; and the God of the pagan not superior, only because of man's greater depression. He strongly insists on the importance of elevating man, by intellectual culture, above Nature, and teaching him to despise all the mysteries and grandeur of Nature. He complains that "Even in those countries where the power of man has reached the highest point, the pressure of Nature is still immense ;" though he asserts that "it diminishes in each succeeding generation, because our increasing knowledge enables us, not so much to control Nature, as to foretell her movements, and thus obviate many of the evils she would otherwise occasion." Thus, he cherishes no more reverence for Universal Nature, than for a Personal God ; seeing that he wages open war on Nature, as the grand enemy of civilization and of man.

What is the ground of his quarrel with Nature ? Is it that she is deficient in beauty, in regularity or in grandeur ? All these he praises. He leads us through the magnificent scenery of the Alps, the Himalayas and the Cordilleras, and calls upon us to admire their cloudy heights, their roaring torrents, and the monotone of their glacier groanings, coming up like the wail of expiring demons from the bottomless pit. He invites us to explore the wilds of Africa and the jungles of India, and the exuberance of vegetation on the banks of the Amazon. He bids us mark the heavy cadences of sullen wrath in the fitful volcano ; and how the valleys roll to the surge of the earthquake ; and how the sea foams as the tornado passes by. In short, he does ample justice to the grandeur and the power of Nature ; but he claims that her power is exerted for a wrong purpose. In what way has her power been abused ? His answer is, that she awes man into reverence, and teaches him to own there is a God, and to bow down before the Most High ! This is no deduction of our own. It is frankly given by our author, as a reason why Nature should be "subordinated to man." All the superstition, (religion,) of the world is matter of imagination ; and as Nature teaches men to be religious, by stimulating the imagination, her voice should be silenced. He admits that a good Religion may be favorable to Civilization ; but in nearly all cases, the good Religion of a people is a mere

"symptom," serving to indicate their intellectual condition ; and instead of being a cause of progress, is but an effect, and an indication of what they were before receiving it.

Another noticeable feature in Mr. Buckle's theory is, that it throws Man entirely out of the system of Nature. With him Nature is one thing, and Man is another. He then divides all the laws of the universe into two classes, which he calls physical and mental, and asserts that the physical laws of Nature are of secondary importance, while the laws of Mind, triumphing over the forces of Nature, are alone concerned in the advancement of Civilization. But who shall say which is the more important ? We grant that without the operation of mind, all the physical forces of Nature could never produce Civilization. Were the whole system of Nature just as it is, with no intellectual agent operating in it or upon it, it would be like a vast laboratory in the absence of the lecturer and operator ; but it does not follow that the value of the laboratory shall be under-estimated, in order that science may be successfully taught.

Mr. Buckle insists that "European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws, and an increasing influence of mental laws." Perhaps he meant to say, that, by the strengthening of the one, the other becomes weaker by comparison. But even this would not be true ; for it is not true that savage life is more natural than civilized. If by natural, we understand normal, according to rule, or fundamental law, the object of all civilization is, or should be, to bring man into a natural state ; while savage life holds him in an abnormal condition. Will any one say that, with the capacity of man for intellectual enlargement, it is more natural, or more consonant with the laws of his being, that he should remain in savage ignorance, than that he should be enlightened ? If savage life were more natural than civilized, then man should flourish better under it. But all history shows, as Mr. Buckle admits, that in no sense is man so healthful and vigorous, either physically or mentally, or his condition so favorable to happiness, in the savage, as in the civilized state. Can any man, looking on savage life, in its nakedness and loathsomeness,

ness, and ignorance, and stolidity, and utter insensibility to all beauty and excellence, say that this is the most natural condition of humanity, and that such is what man was designed to be? Yet Mr. Buckle must answer this in the affirmative; and hence, his low estimate of Nature, and his incessant crusade against her.

Our author next divides mental laws into two classes;—Intellectual and Moral. Here, he raises the question, "Which of these two parts or elements of mental progress is the more important?" after admitting the importance of good morals, and insisting, in a side argument, that every thing good in the Ethics of the Gospel was known and taught by Pagan Philosophers, long before the Christian era, he concludes that,

"Although moral excellence is more amiable, and to most persons, more attractive, than intellectual excellence, still, it must be confessed, that, looking at ulterior results, it is far less active, less permanent, and, as I shall presently prove, less productive of real good."

Moral influences and moral enterprises, he pronounces short lived, at best, and capable of affecting but a small proportion of the individuals with whom they come in contact.

He boldly asserts that,

"There is no instance on record of an ignorant man, who, having good intentions, and supreme power to enforce them, has not done far more evil than good. And whenever the intentions have been very eager, and the power very extensive, the evil has been enormous. But if you can diminish the sincerity of that man, if you can mix some alloy with his motives, you will likewise diminish the evil that he works. If he is selfish, as well as ignorant, it will often happen that you may play off his vice against his ignorance, and by exciting his fears, restrain his mischief. If, however, he has no fear, if he is entirely unselfish, if his sole object is the good of others, if he pursues that object with enthusiasm, upon a large scale and with disinterested zeal, then it is that you have no check upon him; you have no means of preventing the calamities which, in an ignorant age, an ignorant man will be sure to inflict."*

We were not prepared for such a stand as this, even in this nineteenth century, so characterized by boldness of speech, and reckless assertion. Compared even with the heathen philoso-

* Vol. I., p. 132.

phers, Mr. Buckle is but a charlatan. Democritus and Philolaos were wiser than he. The sentiment of the civilized world is, that it is in the moral characteristics of men, of angels, even of God Himself, are found the brightest and most glorious attributes of mind. It is due to Mr. Buckle to observe that he confounds moral influence with religious fanaticism and superstition: a blunder which, while it may be accounted for by his hatred of Christianity, is yet one which no candid philosopher of any school would ever be guilty of. Who can describe the mischief which a man of great intellect, but devoid of moral principle, can accomplish? Alas, the world has seen enough of such unsanctified intellect! Of the importance of intellectual development, no one needs be told; but the intellect that knows no God, and has no sense of moral responsibility, is a curse rather than a blessing to society.

Mr. Buckle admits the good influence of moral laws on individuals, but not on whole communities; even in large circles for a short period, but never for any considerable length of time. A few persons may be found who are manifestly affected by moral influences; but on examining a large community, nothing of the kind will be observed. In a whole State, you may detect the influence of moral law for a brief period; but if you take in a whole year in your observations, you will find simply his old idea of uniformity, resulting from "Necessary Connection." The same number of crimes will be committed one year, as another; just as one day may be more clear, or cloudy, or rainy, or windy, than another; but in the course of a year, there will be about the same amount of rain, and sunshine, and clouds, and wind, one year as another."

The chief reason which he assigns for the impotency of Moral Law is, that all moral truths are stationary, while intellectual truths are progressive. He insists that it is highly improbable, *a priori*, that the progress of society should be due to moral knowledge, which, for many centuries, has remained the same, rather than to intellectual knowledge, which, for many centuries, has been constantly advancing. This is the same "*ad captandum*" assumption with which so many of our American fledglings have been carried away; that no aggres-

sive work can be carried on without frequent "change of base." In other words, that all the old settled principles of Morality, must be abandoned, and expediency become the rule. It has its foundation in the absence of all reverence for antiquity, for authority, for truth, in a word, for Christianity as a living power. This is that Modern Humanitarianism, which, in some one or other of its forms, has been trying to engraft itself into Society in this New World, and which in every instance has met with such disgraceful failure. Again we say, our settled conviction is, that Mr. Buckle's principal reason for depreciating Moral Truth is, that he sees its natural and "Necessary Connection" with Revealed Religion, which is evidently his chief antipathy. Nor are we without a clue to the cause of this deep seated hatred of Christianity. His "Examination of the Scotch Intellect during the seventeenth Century,"* and the copious quotations which he makes from Presbyterian and Puritan divines, show clearly enough that the horrible doctrines which those men taught, in the name of God and of Religion, were one great secret of his enmity. If Papal corruptions made Voltaire and French Infidelity, Scotch Presbyterian corruptions made Buckle and the school to which he belongs.

His Philosophy of Religion is a singular compound of truth and falsehood. He claims that the human mind is made up, principally, of Intellect and Imagination; and then asserts that Religion belongs entirely to the imaginative department. This of course is mere assumption; Imagination enters largely into every religious mind. It is equally true, that in every well-balanced mind, Imagination and Intellect are necessary and correlative powers. A mind devoid of imagination would be a monstrosity. Painting, poetry, music, even agriculture and commerce, indeed, every field of human thought and enterprise, calls for this element of our nature. The man of pure intellect is deficient in the essential elements of humanity.

Mr. Buckle then labors to show that Religion is a plant of tropical origin, the product of an imagination stimulated into

* Vol. II., Ch. V. pp. 260, 322.

marked activity by the sublime aspects of nature in southern climates.

"Whatever inspires feelings of terror, or of great wonder, and whatever excites in the mind an idea of the vague and uncontrollable, has a natural tendency to inflame the imagination, and bring under its dominion the slower and more deliberate operations of the understanding. In such cases, man, contrasting himself with the force and majesty of Nature, becomes painfully conscious of his own insignificance. A sense of inferiority steals over him. From every quarter, innumerable obstacles hem him in, and limit his individual will. His mind, appalled by the undefined and indefinable, hardly cares to scrutinize the details of which such imposing grandeur consists. On the other hand, when the works of Nature are small and feeble, Man regains confidence; he seems more able to rely on his own power; he can, as it were, pass through and exercise authority in every direction. And as the phenomena are more accessible, it becomes easier for him to experiment on them, or to observe them with minuteness; an inquisitive and analytic spirit is encouraged, and he is tempted to generalize the appearances of Nature, and refer them to the laws by which they are governed."*

Thus, our author accounts for the origin of the feeling of reverence. As he advances with his argument, he represents man as bending beneath the oppressive grandeurs of Nature. The feeling of helplessness and littleness grows upon him, amid volcanoes, and earthquakes, and mighty rivers, and deadly malaria, impressing him with the uncertainty of life, and of everything earthly, and so at last he lifts his thoughts to the Supernatural, and calls upon his God. And thus, man comes to be religious.* In farther illustration of his theory, he asserts that there is more of religious susceptibility in the country than in the city; more in agricultural than in manufacturing districts; in short, that where Nature is most seen, man is most religious; while those who hear only the hum of machinery, and see only the products of Art and Science, are likely to be most skeptical. And so, Mr. Buckle wars against Nature.

Now to any other form of skepticism but Mr. Buckle's, such a confession would be fatal. Deists do homage to Nature, and applaud its teachings. Even Atheists generally render a sort

* Vol. I., pp. 86.

of homage to Nature ; but our author declares war, alike, against Nature and Religion. On this point, we make our stand : Religion is true, because it is natural. Supernatural Religion, Christianity is true, because it was designed to restore man to his normal condition. Besides, Mr. Buckle's facts contradict his theory. In England, which he pronounces the most highly civilized part of the world, the religious mind is, and has ever been, more firm than in any other country. In the very garden of Science and Civilization, where, he says, Nature has been most effectually "subordinated to man," and therefore, her clamors most effectually silenced,—there is the most firm and vigorous order of religious conviction and sentiment. True, England has had her skeptics, of which the volumes before us bear ample testimony ; but the Anglican mind, in its general character, has never, since Alfred the Great, ceased to be a most sturdy witness to the truth of Religion. The truth is, after admitting Mr. Buckle's theory of the cause of reverence, the position of England is not anomalous : for, with all her civilization, she has never waged war against Nature.

In conclusion, we have a few thoughts to offer on the connection between the Natural and the Supernatural. Mr. Buckle is correct in asserting that the voice of Nature tends to awaken reverence, and thus to develop religious sentiment. It is true, that where the voice of Nature is most distinctly heard, there the belief in the Supernatural is strongest. It is true, that rural scenery and rural employments tend to reverence ;—reverence alike for domestic, civil, ecclesiastical and divine authority. Generally, it is not in the agricultural districts, but in and about the crowded cities, that children set at naught the authority of parents, or men get up popular riots in resistance of law, or convene infidel assemblies. When all the Churches of Paris were closed, and Bishops and Priests were hastening to join the infidel assembly, the devotions of the rural districts were as fervent as ever ; nor were they suspended until prohibited by force. Some naturalists of reputation have, indeed, been skeptical ; but they are exceptions to the rule, and have mostly, if not always, been men devoted to

some special theory, rather than to real Science. The intense lover of Nature is never found irreverent. "The undevout Astronomer is mad."

The climatic theory of Mr. Buckle, too, may safely be admitted. It has long been remarked, as an unquestionable fact, that northern temperaments are more skeptical, and less susceptible to religious influence, than southern ones. In the blooming south, we find the religious temperament, the lively imagination, the glowing genius of poetry; and yet often in connection with loose morals, small attainments and intellectual indolence. In the far north we most frequently find the intellectual, the moral and the literary temperaments, with little of religious sentiment. It may be that the differing aspects of nature tend to produce these diversities. We can well conceive that the beauties and grandeurs of tropical nature may awe men into reverence, while the feebler forces of nature and the greater displays of Art and Science in the north, may be less favorable to contemplation. That more of the works of man, and less of Nature, are seen in the north than in the south, is beyond question. But it is not in the extremes of latitude that the greatest symmetry of character is found. In the temperate Zone,—where Nature and Art are most happily blended, where Reason and Sentiment grow together,—we find the fairest developments of humanity. But there is not a spot on the globe where Nature does not speak with sufficient clearness to awaken the idea of the Supernatural. Hence, no class of men, no tribe nor clan, however degraded, however intellectual, has been found, that had not the idea of God, and of a life to come. In some, reverence in excess of intellect, has led to superstition; in others, intellect in excess of reverence, has developed a skeptical philosophy; but that man naturally tends to be religious, in some sense, can no longer be questioned.

All this, Mr. Buckle admits; but he claims that the teaching of Nature is to be disregarded, and natural sentiment to be despised. We claim that the voice of Nature is the voice of God. Mr. Buckle's war against Nature is not unlike what has been taught both by Romish and Puritan writers; that all natural affection is sinful, that conjugal, parental and filial

love, is to be condemned, as worthy of the wrath of God. We have no quarrel with Nature; that is, with true, normal Nature. Nature tends to the domestic relations, and unites husband and wife, and parents and children. Can intellect do better? Nature being a matter of law, all her monitions must be subject to rule and held under healthy restraint. What Christianity proposes is, not to make war upon Nature, not to crush out our humanity, nor to exterminate any one of its essential elements, but rather to cherish them, to elevate and purify them, and to hold them in subordination to the laws of God. When she utters the language of condemnation, it is not of Nature, in its true and normal condition, but of Nature as fallen, depraved, diseased. Christ came to be the Physician, the healer, not the exterminator.

Thus have we briefly touched upon a few of the most salient points of Mr. Buckle's voluminous work. We acknowledge the delicacy of criticising a man who has already gone to answer to his God; and we remember the maxim, "Tread lightly on the ashes of the dead." But books sent out into the world to mould opinion, are not to be confounded with men; and we have not hesitated to exhibit some of the objectionable features in Mr. Buckle's great work, so fraught, as we believe, with mischief to mankind. We have said enough to show that the work is full of groundless assumptions, that his theories are at war with human experience, with the purest instincts of humanity, and with the well-being, nay, with the very existence of Society.

As a fitting conclusion, let us gather for a moment around the death bed of Thomas Henry Buckle. A writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, for August, 1863, who was with Mr. Buckle at Damascus, May 31st, 1862, when he died, has given a sketch of his last hours. It was a death in full harmony with his life and teachings. We give a short extract:

"The day after their arrival at Damascus, in the evening at dinner, he was unable to sit at table, where a party of Austrian nobles had taken the place of our friends, who had left that morning. On the divan behind he was having brought to him what food he could eat. Suddenly I heard a cry from him, and springing up, saw him wild and delirious-looking; and when I went up to him, he said—'Oh,

I am going mad!' I half carried him up stairs to the little open gallery before his room door, and there sat him on a chair. In bringing him up stairs, I had ordered one of our servants to go immediately for the French doctor Mr. Buckle had seen in the morning. His incoherent utterances were most painful to listen to; at one moment saying, 'how nice, very nice!' was the iced orangeade I had brought him, and thanking me; then telling me to go away; in the midst of all exclaiming, 'O my book, my book! I shall never finish my book!' and after running on quite incoherently, crying, 'I know I am talking nonsense, but I cannot help it!' and bursting into tears. Four days afterwards he was attacked by typhus fever, and after a three days' stupor died."

This was not so fearfully tragic as the last end of Voltaire and Tom Paine; yet what a death for a philosopher! who had consecrated his life to writing down the Religion of Him Who had conquered Death! and brought Life and Immortality to light in His Gospel.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HISTORY OF THE PLANTING AND TRAINING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BY THE APOSTLES. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated by I. E. Ryland. Revised by E. G. Robinson, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1865. 8vo. pp. 547.

What the (Philadelphia) *Episcopal Recorder* can mean by the following notice of this work of Neander, passes our comprehension. We might have looked for such language from Pelagian Andover, or New Haven; but for a Church Newspaper at Philadelphia, near the seat of a Theological Seminary, to publish such an endorsement, is at least alarming. The *Recorder* says: "This is an improved edition of a work of the most signal value. In the language of its editor, Dr. Robinson, 'it is superfluous to add at this late day, that no work of Neander exhibits more conspicuously his best characteristics, as a fervid Christian theologian and a sagacious and critical historian, than his 'planting and training of the Christian Church.'"

We, on the contrary, pronounce this book a most dangerous one. Full of a supercilious spiritual self conceit, and of "private judgment" run mad, it is an insidious attack upon the very citadel of the Faith of Christ. Hold only what Neander allows us to hold, give up all that he demands of us to give up, and we have nothing left in Christianity but the name; a sublimated Humanitarianism, a good deal better than the best heathen morality, yet differing only in degree, not in kind. Yet Neander is full of pious talk; he uses the traditional orthodox technicalities of the Continental Reformers; just as an Andover Professor takes his oath every year that he believes in the old Puritan Platform, while it is notorious that he hates it with a perfect hatred.

In quoting from Neander to sustain this strongly expressed opinion, we hardly know where to begin. Whether it be on the question of Inspiration, or of Miracles, or of Doctrine, or of the Church, or the Ministry, or the Sacraments, he is everywhere radically unsound. His work is not a "History," as it purports to be; it is a running commentary on the planting and training of the Church, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles of St. Paul, St. James, and St Peter; and is a work supplementary to, and a continuation of, his "Life of Christ." His "History of the Christian Religion and Church during the first three Centuries," and his subsequent volumes, are only parts or developments of his plan. This revised and corrected translation of the Fourth German edition of the History of the planting and training of the Church, contains the author's latest annotations, and is much fuller than the third edition, which was republished in this country in 1844. It is significant, that in a large number of his Notes, he finds it necessary to defend himself against the assaults of

the openly pronounced scoffer, Baur; who evidently regarded Neander as fair game: and so he is; for, between Baur and Neander, there is no middle ground tenable. Take, for an example of Neander's views, what he teaches respecting the Atonement, the Sacrifice of the Cross, the Blood of Christ, the Blood of the Covenant, the Expiatory Sacrifice—a Doctrine incorporated into the Creeds and all the Liturgies of the Early Church as a foundation-stone of Christian Faith. If Neander does not scoff and rave at it, like Tom Paine, if he is more decent in his unbelief, he yet does reject it decidedly and utterly. We mean distinctly this, that Neander denies that the Atonement is something God-ward, or that it is an Expiation, an Oblation, a Satisfaction. He holds that it is only something Man-ward. He says, "When Paul speaks of what Christ effected by his blood, his Cross, or other means, one single point which forms the consummation and close of the whole, stands for that whole." "From what has been said, we may attach merely a subjective meaning to the Reconciliation," &c., &c. We ask our readers to remember that this is precisely that point, where the Faith of the country is being most rapidly undermined; and on which radical error, drawn from German Rationalism, is already taught in some of the pulpits of the Church; as it is taught almost everywhere around us. Thank God! for a Scriptural Primitive Liturgy still left to us!

In respect to other points, it is impossible, in a mere notice like this, to illustrate his teaching by quotations. The following must suffice. Thus, respecting the Conversion of St. Paul, the inspired narrative tells us, that "Jesus that appeared unto thee (Saul) in the way." Neander positively denies that Paul saw Christ. He says, "if it be not allowed that the narrative in the Acts is trustworthy, yet the testimony of Paul himself in reference to this event, from which he always dates the commencement of a new era in his life, must be met." Neander tells us how it was. He thinks that Paul's conscience troubled him; and that "not far from Damascus he and his followers were overtaken by a violent storm; the lightning struck near to Paul, and he fell senseless to the ground," &c., &c., (p. 85). So also, where we read, Acts xiv, of St. Paul's healing the lame man at Lystra, instead of confessing that Paul wrought that miracle by the immediate power of God, he drivels in the following style: "Whoever is not entangled in a mechanical view of nature, whoever acknowledges the power of Spirit over nature, and a hidden dynamic connection between soul and body," &c., &c. So also, the damsel "possessed with a spirit of divination," (Acts xvi, 16), according to Neander, was only a somnambulist, and "in her convulsive fits," uttered what the inspired penman has recorded. And when the Apostle pretended to cast out "a personal evil spirit," he probably followed the "received notion, without reflecting at the moment any further upon it."

Now these are not solitary exceptional cases in Neander. His works are full of such teaching. We have marked extracts from his works, scores in number, some of them worse than the above; and yet such abominable stuff as this an *Episcopal* Newspaper endorses, without a word of qualification! Neander was a Jew; and on his

conversion to Christianity, under the strongly rationalistic influences of the Continent, he took the following position, which he states in one of his works: "In the Old Testament, everything relating to the Kingdom of God was estimated by outward forms, and promoted by specific external rites. In the New, everything is made to depend upon what is internal and spiritual." This mere assumption is the key to much of Neander's rationalism. When we consider that Neander's works are used as text books in a large number of the Theological Seminaries of the country, and that the "religious press" of the country, without exception, so far as we have observed, is strong and unqualified in its commendation of Neander's works; when the authors of "Essays and Reviews," and Colenso, and Renan, are declaring open war upon all that is Supernatural in Christianity; we ask our readers if it is not high time to sound the note of alarm.

LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in February and May, 1863. By MAX MÜLLER, M. A. Second Series, with 31 illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865. 12mo. pp. 622.

When Professor Müller declares Language to be a Science, even as Astronomy, and Botany, and Geology are Sciences, he utters a great truth; and one which is yet to throw floods of light upon important questions in the history of our race. The disinterred slabs of Nineveh give credibility to a single page of the inspired record; the discoveries and researches of philologists are already shutting the mouths of infidels, and confirming the Mosaic record as to the antiquity, unity, and dispersion of the human family. When Professor Müller says, that "the languages spoken by the Brahmans of India; by the followers of Zoroaster, and the subjects of Darius, in Persia; by the Greeks, by the Romans, by Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic races, were all varieties of one common type;" when he says that the religion of the Greeks and Romans did not consist merely and simply of the fables of Jupiter and Juno, of Apollo and Minerva, of Venus and Bacchus, but that through the veil of mythic phraseology, we catch a glimpse of the great realities which lie behind and beyond,—we see at once what some of the uses are to which the Science of Language is to be applied. Yet the Science is still in its infancy; and must remain so until more ascertained facts authorize a broader and clearer induction.

Professor Müller's Lectures are twelve in number, and are divided into two parts. In the first, he treats of what he calls "the body, or the outside of language; the sounds in which language is clothed, whether we call them letters, syllables or words; describing their origin, their formation, and the laws which determine their growth and decay;" and in this he discusses the principles of Etymology. In the second part, he investigates "what may be called the soul or the inside of language; examining the first conceptions that claimed utterance, their combinations and ramifications, their growth, their decay, and their resuscitation." He also examines some of the fundamental principles of Mythology, both ancient and modern, and the sway

which language, as such, exercises over our thoughts. It is of course impossible here to give a synopsis of even one of his Lectures. The work will receive the attention of scholarly and thinking men. In the extreme care with which he examines details, in the candor and caution with which he draws his conclusions, and in the clearness and skill with which he presents the important subject before his readers, the work is worthy of the distinguished author.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD, from the earliest Records to the Present time. By PHILIP SMITH, B. A., one of the principal contributors to the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography and Geography. Vol. I. Ancient History, from the Creation of the World to the Accession of Philip of Macedon. Illustrated by Maps, Plans and Engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway. 1865. 8vo. pp. 562.

We welcome this first volume of a complete History of the World as "*God's World*," written by one who, while he is thoroughly master of all the latest attainments in human science, is nevertheless a profound believer in Revelation still, with unqualified, and, we had almost said, unmeasured delight. The plan is admirable; and if the execution of the remaining seven volumes, of which the work, when it shall have been completed, will consist, is equal to the sample we have in this, it will leave nothing to be desired in the way of a History of the World. The author begins by recognizing the Bible as the Word of God, and not only a Revelation of His Will in matters pertaining to life and salvation, but as being also one only source of historical knowledge in regard to some part of man's history, and our surest guide in relation to all those things of which it speaks at all. It is a book that every clergyman will be glad to have, and one which every sincere believer will thank the author for having written. The undertaking is a great one; and if the author should no more than finish the first part (Vols I and II, reaching down to the downfall of the Roman Empire in the West,) in the style and with the completeness which characterizes the volume before us, he will have done enough to satisfy the reasonable ambition of almost any man. We propose to discuss the merits of the work more fully, when the second volume shall have been received, and therefore forbear saying anything more at present.

MEMOIRS OF REV. BENJAMIN C. CUTLER, D. D., late Rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. By REV. HORATIO GRAY, A. M. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1865. 12mo. pp. 439.

The late Rev. Dr. Cutler had the privilege of being born and nurtured in the Church. His religious character was early developed; there seems to have been with him no self-conscious line of transition from the condition of the worldling to that of the sincere believer and follower; his affections were fastened firmly on CHRIST, and as he grew in years he grew in grace and the knowledge of God. The question, which so many of our clergy have been obliged to ask, and to answer too: "Why am I a Churchman?" was already settled for

him; nor, in our judgment, was his position such as to enable him to look at the subject of organic Christianity, especially in this country, where universal chaos so alarmingly threatens utter ruin to Christianity, as it presents itself to many who have sought refuge within the Church. In the confidence of private letters, and his own private journal, he expressed himself without reserve; and as these are given in the biography freely, and sometimes, we think, indiscreetly, we have several old Ecclesiastical Trials, and personal animosities, and doctrinal controversies recalled to remembrance. One of these dates back as far as 1836, and of its details some of our readers have a lively recollection. We more than doubt the propriety of reviving the memory of those old criminations and recriminations; it is better for all parties, that the whole be forgotten. Dr. Cutler was a devout man. None can read the record of his inner life, without feeling that in him the Gospel was indeed the power of God unto salvation. In one of his letters he says, "It would take one sting from death, for me to know, that when I am gone, there will be men left who will defend the Gospel in the Church; and the Church, for the Gospel's sake; and both, because of that glorious Saviour whom they ought to hold forth and hold up." Near the close of his life, in his private Journal, he makes the following confession respecting that habit of attempt at spiritual anatomy, or introversion, which his earlier life most strikingly exhibits: "I have discontinued set self-examinations; for, after proceeding in the same way for forty years, I found myself no better, but rather worse." It was as a faithful Pastor that Dr. Cutler was most successful; and thirty years of such labor in Brooklyn had given him a degree of influence among all classes of people, such as few men ever attain.

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY, Correspondence, etc., of LYMAN BEECHER, D.D.
 Edited by CHARLES BEECHER. With Illustrations. In two volumes. Vol. II. 1865. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 587.

When Bishop Burgess published his "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England during the century between 1740 and 1840," he gave the history of New England Congregationalism as it appears outwardly, and as it is a matter of record; and so accurately did he draw the picture of the Unitarian Controversy, that the Editor of the work before us has quoted freely from his pages. But there is always an unwritten history, which is the true history; an esoteric as opposed to the exoteric; as the kernel is opposed to the shell; or the reality to the sham. That secret history of New England Congregationalism, and, to a considerable extent, of New School Presbyterianism, is disclosed in this second volume of Dr. Lyman Beecher's Auto-biography. The Editor, the Rev. Charles Beecher, evidently has no sympathy with, and little respect for, the old fashioned "orthodoxy" of New England; and the ecclesiastical troubles with which he has been harassed have evidently emboldened him to throw wide open the inner temple of Puritanism. And what a prospect! Up to 1818, the "Standing Order" of Connecticut had a bond of Union, in their com-

mon hatred of Episcopacy, and in their combined efforts to crush or maim it; efforts which are frequently alluded to in the volume before us. But when Toleration was declared, and these "freedom-of-conscience" men lost their political power, they at once set to fighting each other. The very persons whose subjectivism and emotionalism were so demonstrative, and withal so vituperative, that half the world really believed that what they said was true, that there was "no religion" in the Episcopal Church, these very men now charged each other, not only with the most awful heresies, but the most malignant motives. The very same men, Tyler, and Taylor, and Nettleton, who in 1819 put their heads together to prepare that infamous lampoon against the Church, "A Serious Call," afterwards were so bitter against each other, that Dr. Beecher, because he would not join Tyler against Taylor, says, "they took burning arrows dipped in gall, and shot them over into the Presbyterian camp. They rifled the graves of my dead friends, out of their ashes to evoke spectral accusations against me." This quarrel among the "orthodox" Puritans began in Connecticut, and led to the establishment of the East Windsor Seminary; it was carried into the Presbyterian ranks, and resulted in the trial of Dr. Beecher at the West, and of Dr. Barnes at Philadelphia; it finally led to the entire disruption of the Presbyterian body in 1837. A son of Dr. Beecher, in describing the bitterness of this *odium theologicum*, says, "for a combination of meanness, and guilt, and demoralizing power, in equal degrees of intensity, I have never known anything to exceed the conspiracy in New England and the Presbyterian Church to crush, by open falsehood and secret whisperings, my father and others whom they have in vain tried to silence by argument, or to condemn in the courts of the Church." And yet, these are the men who for a half century have been so noisy in decrying "the Episcopal Church" because it is lacking in vital piety! The volume before us, while it is interesting and valuable as the Auto-biography of in many respects a remarkable man, is, as we have said, exceedingly rich in its disclosures of the real history of one of the most important theological movements of modern times. Dr. Beecher was evidently a "Taylorite;" yet neither he nor Taylor seems to have appreciated the true character of that system as a Philosophy, which is the merest Empyricism; and neither of them seems to have known that it was nothing more than an old heresy in a new garb. The private letters of such men as Drs. Tyler, and Taylor, and Nettleton, and Goodrich, and Woods, and Porter, and Barnes, are curiosities in their way. The real secret of this perpetual warfare in the ranks of Puritanism is to be found in the system itself. That system began with setting Private Judgment against Catholic Tradition, in matters both of Doctrine and Organization; it is ending in sweeping away Doctrine and Organization altogether. The Human Reason, the Moral Sense, revolts against the horrible dogmas of Puritanism; and here is the fountain of all the *isms* of New England, from the days of Edwards to the last ravings of Theodore Parker.

In examining this volume, the conviction forces itself upon us, again and again, that the Church has been most recreant to her duty, in that

she has not met the real spiritual wants of the age, with a bolder, manlier front. She has crouched, and hesitated, and apologized, only to be laughed at. It is perhaps not too late yet for the Church to show that she has a more excellent way.

ESSAYS, Historical and Biographical, Political, Social, Literary and Scientific. By HUGH MILLER, Author of the "Old Red Sandstone," etc. Edited, with a Preface, by PETER BAYNE. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1865. 12mo. pp. 501.

When Hugh Miller became Editor of "The Witness" (newspaper) he was in the full maturity of his intellectual powers; and during the sixteen years that he conducted that paper, he called into requisition his large stores of literary and scientific information. Sturdy Scotchman as he was, he did not sit down to snivel, like our modern Miss Nancys, at the assaults of noisy blasphemers, and beg to apologize for the liberty of differing. He believed in Christianity, and had faith in it. Blustering infidels and charlatans found that there were blows to take, as well as blows to give. We confess we like the man's loyalty to the Gospel; and wish there was more of it in the world and in the Church. In these days of Colensos and Renans, when the old landmarks of the Faith are being obliterated, would to God the American Church had a few Hugh Millers to set the seal upon moral sycophancy and time serving treachery. What the age demands, is Christian manliness.

HISTORY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States of America. By ABEL STEVENS, LL. D. Author of "The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism," etc. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864. 12mo. 2 Vols. pp. 423, 511.

The consistency of John Wesley's conduct as a Churchman, the true position of Methodism in this country as a System, and the radical changes which it is constantly undergoing, and its probable destiny, are points which we have discussed in previous Numbers of the Review. Dr. Stevens, in the volume before us, vindicates Methodist Episcopacy, on the ground that its establishment was "providential," and "expedient." As the Christian Ministry was a Divine Institution, such a method of argument is, of course, inadmissible; and if carried out, as it ought to be if sound, and as it is in fact, is at once thoroughly destructive of Primitive Faith, as well as Order. Multitudes of Methodists are seeing and feeling this; and hence are returning to the Church of the Wesleys, where they are finding rest, as well as a field of great usefulness. Mr. Stevens is an excellent writer; he thinks clearly, and writes strongly. He makes all of Methodism that can be made of it, and the field is a fruitful one. His delineation of the spiritual life, and character, and of the labors, of John Wesley, and of the Methodist pioneers in this country, is admirable. His History of Methodism is brought down to the First Regular General Conference, in 1792.

HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in the United States of America. By E. H. GILLETT. Author of "The Life and Times of John Huss." Two Volumes. 1865. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee. 12mo. pp. 576, 605.

If the "Presbyterian Church" are satisfied with this work, as a trust-worthy history of that denomination, we certainly are not disposed to find fault with it. But the Author does not tell us what Presbyterianism is; where, and when it originated; what its Ecclesiastical organization is; or what its Doctrines are. He seems to maintain that the Brownists who landed at Plymouth Rock were Presbyterians; and that the Say-Brook Platform was a Presbyterian standard. Now, as there are some half-dozen distinct bodies in this country, each claiming to be Presbyterian; and as many more, insisting on the most ultra and unshackled Independency, and as some of the leaders of this latter class are reported at length in this history of Presbyterianism, we confess we do not know what to make of the work. It is evident enough that Mr. Gillett, if he has any definite ideas as to either organization or doctrine, is in thorough sympathy with the broadest latitudinarianism. For example, in the "Plan of Union," of 1801, by which Presbyterians and Congregationalists agreed to merge doctrinal and ecclesiastical differences, and unite upon missionary work in a common field,—a Plan which led to the severest denunciations, the criminations and recriminations, the formal excisions and schisms, the Ecclesiastical Trials, and the litigations of 1837, and a later date,—in all this, the writer, if he has any fixed opinion of his own, which is doubtful, evidently leans towards the loosest notions. Perhaps this is all Presbyterianism, of the most genuine kind. If it be so, the charges of radical heresy touching the most fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, which such men as Dr. Junkin, Dr. Green, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Miller, and others, brought against leading men in the Presbyterian ranks, we think need a little explanation. There is one subject on which Dr. Gillett is sufficiently positive; and that is in his hostility to Episcopacy. He tells us, what we knew before, that the "Convention of Congregational, Consociated, and Presbyterian Churches, which began its annual meeting in 1766," had its origin in a determined opposition to the introduction of Episcopacy into this country; but when he says, "the opposition was not to Bishops vested only with spiritual powers;" we reply, distinctly, after a most thorough examination of all the facts upon that subject, that the opposition was to Bishops, though stripped of every vestige of political power. It sprang from a bitter, intolerant hatred of Episcopacy itself. The author also gives, and with evident gusto, a labored description of a disgraceful picture, or vile caricature, gotten up in Boston at that same period, exhibiting the landing of a Bishop, amidst the fiercest opposition; in which, singularly enough, a monkey! is displayed as taking a leading part. The picture was well calculated to inflame the passions of a mob, and to lead to physical violence. Mr. Gillett's volumes are a massive collection of ill-digested "facts" and details, brought together without much order or method.

MEDITATIONS ON THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY, and on the Religious Questions of the day. By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French, under the superintendence of the Author. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865. 12mo. pp. 356.

Since the Revolution of 1848,—when this eminent Protestant statesman found retirement from the cares and perplexities of public life, in which thirty-five years had been passed,—he has been consecrating his life and strength, he says, to the cause of Christian Faith and Christian liberty. Yet his *Meditations on the Essence of Christianity* are not valuable for any new light they throw on questions of learned skepticism. Neither his past history, nor the pursuits of his riper years, have fitted him for such a labor, and whenever he has attempted anything of this sort, in the volume before us, he has signally failed. But he has done a good and noble work, in re-stating the argument for Christianity, from its evident adaptedness to the conscious wants, and from the clear light which it casts upon the dark enigmas, the deep mysteries, of our spiritual being. And this will always be one of the strongest arguments for Christianity. These “*Meditations*” are to be comprised in a series of four volumes. This first volume, on the “*Essence of Christianity*,” treats of those Supernatural Facts on which he considers the dogmas of Christianity to rest; as Creation, Revelation, Inspiration; God, according to the biblical account; and Jesus, according to the Gospel narrative. His representation of these Facts is in accordance with the general acceptance of believers.

THE MISSING LINK; Or Bible-Women in the Homes of the London Poor. By L. H. R. Author of “*The Book and its Story*.” New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1862. 12mo. pp. 302.

LIFE WORK; Or the the Link and the Rivet. By L. H. R. Author, &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1865. 12mo. pp. 343.

These two volumes give the full details of a wonderful work which has been going on in London, within the last few years, in behalf of the lowest classes of the poor, to relieve their spiritual and temporal wants. It had its origin, as such movements almost always do, in a little incident, a trifling circumstance. It began in the employment of a single woman, Marian B., who was engaged to sell Bibles in St. Giles District, one of the worst parts of London. “*The Missing Link*” gives an account of the commencement and progress of the work; and “*Life Work*,” as a sequel to the former publication, continues the narrative through a period embracing about four years, or down to 1861. At that time, nearly one hundred and fifty districts were regularly visited, and the monthly expenses of the Mission were about four thousand dollars. The whole enterprise is in the hands of women, yet many of the Clergy of the Church give to it their constant coöperation. Not only are Bibles supplied to the destitute; but food, clothing, proper lodgings, are placed within their reach; habits of industry and cleanliness are encouraged, and the

effect already produced is most apparent. The work, so simple in its origin, has been reduced to order and method, and is in the hands of persons of great practical wisdom. Movements of the same sort have already been commenced in New York and Philadelphia; of which, in this Review, we have some account. Nor are we yet done with the subject. Modifications of the plan will be necessary, to adapt it to the condition of the poor in our American large cities; but to all who have a heart for such Christian labors, the volumes are full of interest and instruction.

READINGS FOR EVERY DAY IN LENT. Compiled from the Writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. By the Author of "Amy Herbert." New York: H. B. Durand. 1864. 12mo. pp. 357.

The Christian who is learning to live by rule, who seeks to grow in Grace and in the knowledge of God, can hardly find a better work for the private reading and devotions of the closet than this. The piety of Jeremy Taylor, while far removed from the gloom of the misanthrope, or the self-righteous spirit of the Romish anchoret, was yet deep and controlling. These selections, by Miss Sewell, are fitly chosen.

SICKNESS, ITS TRIALS AND BLESSINGS. Second American, from the Fifth London edition. To which is appended Prayers for the sick and dying. New York: H. B. Durand. 1864. 12mo. pp. 490.

A former edition of this work we warmly commended, and we are glad again to express our opinion of its admirable adaptedness to the spiritual wants of those for whom it was specially prepared.

ST. PAUL IN ROME; Lectures delivered in the Legation of the United States of America, in Rome. By the Rev. C. M. BUTLER, D. D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Divinity School, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1865. 12mo. pp. 295.

In these Lectures, twelve in number, Dr. Butler describes the character and special mission of St. Paul; his connection with the Church in Rome; his labors, journeyings and teachings, in connection with the religious, political and social condition of Rome at that period. It is a subject admirably suited to the descriptive talent of Dr. Butler. In a Note to Lecture XI, he expresses his doubt whether St. Peter was ever at Rome at all. The fallen condition of the modern Church of Rome, in doctrine, discipline, and holiness of life, is clearly set forth.

ZULU-LAND; or Life among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-Land, South Africa. With Map and Illustrations, largely from original Photographs. By Rev. LEWIS GROUT, for fifteen years Missionary of the American Board in South Africa. Author of the Grammar of the Zulu Language, &c. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee. 1865. 12mo. pp. 351.

Mr. Grout is a very clever writer, and a clear-headed, sensible man. In this small volume, he has condensed a great amount of valuable information respecting South Africa, and especially Natal and Zululand; their discovery, conquest, and occupation; the people, their origin, religion, language, and habits; the country itself, its geological features, climate, productions, animals, and resources; also sketches of the Mission of the American Board, and of the English Wesleyan Mission, the Berlin Mission, the Hanoverian Mission, the Norwegian Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission, and the Church of England Mission. The Mission of the American Board has twelve stations, thirteen missionaries and their wives; an average Sunday attendance of seven hundred and ninety-nine, two hundred and nineteen pupils in their Schools, and two hundred and twenty-four members in their communion. We learn, from other sources, that the Church Mission is sadly depressed, in consequence of the conduct of Bishop Colenso; there are about a dozen Church Clergy in Natal, not one of whom sympathizes with the Bishop. A writer, under date of Oct. 1st, 1864, says:—"And yet here is Dr. Colenso, instead of setting to work in his diocese to remedy such a state of things, going home to make mischief and unsettle men's minds by his vagaries! Really, it makes one awfully indignant to see the Church thrown back for years in a colony where it had, at its planting, every prospect of flourishing vigorously; for everybody agrees that, on the first arrival of the Bishop and his party, they were received with open arms; but he seems continually to have behaved in the most eccentric manner whilst here, and to have quarreled with nearly all those who were ready to have been his warmest supporters."

ARCTIC RESEARCHES, and Life among the Esquimax; being the Narrative of an Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, in the years 1860, 1861, and 1862. By CHARLES FRANCIS HALL. With Maps, and over one hundred Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 595.

The great interest awakened, not only in England but in the United States, respecting the Franklin Expedition, and the desire to learn the fate of those martyrs to science, seem to have been, together with a strong love of adventure, the exciting cause in starting Mr. Hall upon this perilous journey. It had already been ascertained, by Capt. McClintock, that Sir John Franklin's party had abandoned their ships, in April, 1848, in Victoria Strait, and had probably attempted to reach home by way of King William's Island and the Continent. Beyond this all is uncertainty. Mr. Hall is confident that the Esquimaux must know the fate of those men, even if none of them are still alive; and yet this he does not believe. It is certainly possible, that of 105 men, some may still survive. Enough is positively known to provoke inquiry. Mr. Hall was aided and encouraged in his enterprise by Mr. Henry Grinnell, of New York, who also believes that survivors of the Franklin party may still live among the Esquimaux of Boothia, Victoria, or Prince Albert Lands. He started

from New London, in the barque *George Henry*, May 29th, 1860, for Northumberland Inlet, and returned to New London, Sept. 13, 1862.

The first winter was spent in Frobisher's Bay, and his *Journal* is a record of adventure, sledge excursions, &c., and sketches of life among the Esquimaux, &c., &c. While here he found, as he thinks, numerous relics of Frobisher's Expedition, in 1576, 1577, and 1578, and these are the most important of his discoveries. It was not until July 17, 1861, that the *George Henry* was released from her icy prison; still, he was obliged to abandon the attempt to explore King William's Land, nor did he prosecute his discoveries beyond the west coast of Davis' Strait, and, of course, gained no information on the great object of his voyage. Having returned to this country accompanied by two Esquimaux, he started again on his second voyage, in June, 1864, determining to go among the Esquimaux, to live among them, confident that he shall thus be able to acquire the information that he seeks. The book has been published by the Harpers with great liberality; it is full of information concerning the Arctic regions, and is, withal, a most entertaining volume.

QUEENS OF SONG. Being Memoirs of some of the most celebrated Female Vocalists who have performed on the lyric stage, from the earliest days of Opera to the present time. To which is added a chronological list of all the Operas that have been performed in Europe. By ELLEN CREATHORNE CLAYTON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 12mo. pp. 543.

Miss Clayton has chosen, as subjects of her brief memoirs, about forty of those who, within the last century and a half, have been most distinguished in musical drama as Queens of Song. She begins with Katharine Tofts and Margarita de l'Epine, at the commencement of the last century, and closes with the name of Mlle. Tietjens, the "bright, particular star" of the year 1863. The work is illustrated with portraits of Mrs. Billington, Madame Pasta, Madame Sontag, Madame Garcia Malibran, Madame Giulia Grisi, Madame Clara Novello, Madame Viardot Garcia, Madame Marietta Alboni, Madame Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, and Madame Marietta Piccolomini. The modern Opera, as it had its origin in Italy, so it has, especially in this country, retained its strongly marked Italian character, though French, German, and English composers and artists have won celebrity; not to forget her name, so fresh still in memory, the Swedish Queen, Jenny Lind. Not one American singer has place in these pages; and yet there is at least one whose genius and talent and culture have extorted homage, against the force of strong prejudice, and in the face of the most brilliant competition. Of course we mean Miss Kellogg. The author of the work has hardly written a gossipy book; yet it is full of personal incident and anecdote. She exhibits considerable musical knowledge and taste, and her critical opinions are given in a spirit of impartiality.

THE CULTURE OF THE OBSERVING FACULTIES in the Family and the School; Or things about Home, and how to make them instructive

to the Young. By WARREN BARTON. Author of "The District School as it was," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 16mo. pp.

Parents, and teachers, and others who feel the importance of training children in the habit of forming a clear, definite idea of the thousand objects of daily life, and who would encourage, instead of frowning upon, the inquisitive curiosity of childhood, will find many valuable suggestions in this little volume. It is these little things, far more than difference of natural endowment which, in the end, make the man of power. The general lack of accuracy of knowledge, will surprise those who have not given their attention to the subject.

The Church Book Society have published the following new books :

- (1.) LAURA CLIFFORD; or Emulation. By MARY GRANGER CHASE. 16mo. pp. 293.
- (2.) MARGIE; A Christmas Story. By MARIA H. BULFINCH. 16mo. pp. 136.
- (3.) FOLD OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SERIES. No. I. The Christmas Present. No. II. The Rope Makers. No. III. The Invited Guests. No. IV. Huldah's Wedding Ring. No. V. St. Michael and All Angels. No. VI. Transplanted Flowers. No. VII. The Stray Sheep.
- (4.) MY ANGEL, AND OTHER POEMS. By Miss M. H. BULFINCH. 1864. 18mo. pp. 24.

The first of these volumes exhibits the power of Religion as a ruling principle in the midst of worldly temptations, and as a refuge and consolation when earthly comforts fail. It treats the Church, and its system of nurture, as realities, and is a really good book. The other little volumes will attract juvenile readers.

DISCIPLINES, Instructive and Devotional, for Missionary and Parochial Use, in the necessary preparation of persons for Holy Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion. New York: Church Book Society. 1864.

We have here, bound in a neat volume, a collection of Tracts, which the author, the Rev. Dr. J. L. Breck, says, have had the trial of twenty years of Missionary life. Their object is to prescribe a course of preparation, for each of the Sacraments, of the most thorough character. No candidate, who faithfully uses this volume, can fail to realize the blessings of the Sacraments; and, at the same time, to learn the deep meaning and priceless value of the Book of Common Prayer.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM. By HENRY J. CAMMANN, late Superintendent of St. Thomas' Church Sunday School, New York. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1864. 16mo. pp. 62.

The Catechism is the basis of true Theology, and true Christian Nurture. Rightly interpreted, it inculcates all that a Christian needs to believe and to do. Hence, any system of instruction in a Church Sunday School is radically defective, which does not begin with the Catechism as its starting point, and does not follow it as a continual guide. So far from being a barren theme, the wealth of all learning may be used in its illustration. As a primary work, we have seen nothing so good as this Exposition by Mr. Cammann. He is a practical teacher, and his work will be found useful and satisfactory. It can be obtained at the Church Bookstores in New York.

MINNIE GRAY. By REV. RALPH HOYT. New York: Randolph. 1864. 12mo. pp. 37.

As we have often said, Ralph Hoyt is a true poet, and a very sweet one. We wish "Minnie Gray" might put many dollars into his pocket.

WALTER'S TOUR IN THE EAST. By DANIEL C. EDDY, D. D.. Author of "The Percy Family," "Walter in Constantinople." New York: Sheldon & Co. 1865. 16mo. pp. 222.

These incidents of travel, and adventures in Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Smyrna, the Dardanelles, the Golden Horn, and Constantinople, are interesting and instructive reading for the little folks.

THE COMMONWEALTH, (Boston.)

The savans of our "modern Athens" have been obliged, for some reason, to suspend the publication of their Journal, with the above title. As a specimen of the habit of thinking, down in Boston, we give the following extracts from an editorial in that paper on the "Philosophy of the Absolute." The amazing profundity of which these men seem always to be so self-conscious, is very well illustrated in these choice morsels:—

"Thought, in order to be determined, or to manifest itself, or to know itself, or, in short, *to be* itself,—since its nature is an activity, a 'self moved,' as Plato calls it, a dualism in which there is subject and object,—thinks itself, and in so doing, limits or defines itself.

"All limitation through an alterum (or other being) makes a thing finite. But limitation of itself merely manifests its infinitude; for the self is both sides of the limit, and hence *continued* by the limit, instead of *negated*.

"The self says to the self, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther,' and the self makes reply, 'I do not wish to *go* there, for I am already there, limiting myself.'

"Just so in space, a limit is posited, and through the same limit, space is posited beyond it, as the logical condition of it. So every limit of space is a proof of its infinitude, for it really demonstrates its continuation—it affirms what it was going to deny.

"So the thinking, being its own alterum, is always posited by its limit, instead of being negated.

"And thus the essence of the independent being is freedom, or free will.

"This is the problem of all Philosophy :

"How can the limited or determined be the infinite or absolute?" Its answer is given above, viz : By being a *self determined*."

REV. J. H. ANKETELL's Sermon, on the Tercentenary of the Adoption of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. December, 1854. Windham, Conn.

Mr. Anketell's discourse has several points very strongly put. Speaking of the doctrine of Development, by which Romish teachers try to defend their modern heresies, he says :—"It assumes that the truth of God is not fixed, that the revelation of salvation made in the Gospel is not complete, and thus all Faith becomes unsettled. It matters little whether this development of new doctrines be made by a triple-crowned Bishop, seated on the seven hills of the 'Eternal City,' or a metaphysical professor, sitting at his desk on the less classic hill at Andover—we cannot accept it as our rule of Faith. We will rather exclaim, in the language of the Abbé Laborde,—when protesting against the dogma of the Immaculate Conception,—'I will have no Faith when I am old and gray-headed, into which I was not baptized when I was a child.'"

AMERICAN HISTORY. By JACOB ABBOTT. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings. Vol. VII. War of the Revolution. New York : Sheldon & Co. 1865. 12mo. pp. 288.

If much cannot well be said in favor of Abbott as a historian, he certainly writes very entertaining stories for the young.

The following publications have been received :—

LINDISYARN CHASE. A Novel. By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1864. 8vo. pp. 274.

MARGARET DENZIL'S HISTORY. Annotated by her Husband. A Novel. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1864. 8vo. pp. 169.

BISHOP WHITEHOUSE's Thirteenth Annual Address at the Convention of the Diocese of Illinois. 1864. 8vo. pp. 53.

HERBERT SPENCER's Classification of the Sciences, in which are added Reasons for dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1864. 8vo. pp. 48.

JOHN JAY's Address before the Union Campaign Club in East Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 25, 1864. 8vo. pp. 32.

REV. F. C. EWER's Sermon on Political Sermons, in Christ Church, New York City, Sept. 11th, 1864. 8vo. pp. 23.

REV. DR. R. A. HALLAM's Sermon at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Society for the Increase of the Ministry, at Cleaveland, Ohio, Oct. 3, 1864. 12mo. pp. 34.

A FEW WORDS on the Decoration of Churches. By a Layman. New York: 1864. 12mo. pp. 13.

A FEW PRACTICAL WORDS in favor of dividing the Diocese of New York. By a Layman. New York: 1864. 8vo. pp. 4.

LEONARD B. VICKER'S Pamphlet. The Loud Voice, Rev. x. 3., and The Everlasting Gospel, Rev. xiv. 6. New York: 1864. 8vo pp. 24.

Rev. Dr. A. D. COLE'S Reply to the Christian Times, in Defense of the Nashotah Mission. 1864. pp. 4.

A NEW FIRST CATECHISM. By a Clergyman's Wife. Syracuse, N. Y. 1864. 24mo. pp. 34.

HARPER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY of the Great Rebellion, Nov., 1864. Folio, pp. 24.

REPORT of the Standing Committee of the Divinity School of the P. E. Church, Philadelphia. 1864. 12mo. pp. 23.

REPORT of the American International Relief Committee, for Relief of the Suffering Operatives of Great Britain, 1862-3. New York: 1864. 8vo. pp. 72.

TWENTY-FIRST Annual Report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. New York: 1864. 8vo. pp. 87.

INFORMATION for Army Meetings. Philadelphia: 1864. 12mo. pp. 36.

CONSTITUTION, &c., of the Connecticut Institute of Reward, in behalf of the State's Patriot Orphans. New Haven; 1864. 8vo. pp. 8.

THE PERPETUAL CURATE. A Novel. By the Author of "Chronicles of Carlingford." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 239.

QUITE ALONE. A Novel. By George Augustus Sala. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 195.

MATTIE: A Story. By the Author of "High Church," "No Church," &c., &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 157.

MY BROTHER'S WIFE. A Life-History. By Amelia B. Edwards. Author of "Barbara's History," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 112.

The Rt. Rev. BISHOP H. W. LEE'S Sermon, at the Consecration of Bishop Vail, Dec. 15th, 1864. The Christian Ministry; its Constitution and Duties. 1865. 8vo. pp. 26.

Rev. Dr. E. E. BEARDSLEY'S Sermon, in memory of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell, in St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Conn., Jan. 15, 1865.

Rev. E. L. DROWN's Sermon, in memory of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell, in St. Paul's Church, New Haven, Conn, Jan. 15, 1865.

Rev. Dr. HALLAM's Sermon, a memorial of thirty years of Pastoral labor in St. James' Parish, New London, Conn., Jan. 1, 1865.

Rev. Dr. W. T. GIBSON's Thanksgiving Sermon, in Grace Church, Utica, W. N. Y., Nov. 24, 1864. The Revolt of Absalom.

Rev. Dr. G. H. HOUGHTON's Address, in the Church of the Transfiguration, N. Y. City, Dec. 11, 1864.

Rev. Dr. W. F. MORGAN's Address, before the Christian Unity Society, on Church work in Paris, in Calvary Church, New York City.

Rev. D. G. HASKIN's Treatise on Confirmation. Boston: E. P. Dutton. 1865. 18mo. pp. 35.

Rev. E. M. GUSHEE's Letter on the Lenten Season. New York: Church Book Society. 1865. 12mo. pp. 32.

Rev. JOSEPH M. CLARKE's Sixth Annual Address and Report, in St. James' Free Church, Syracuse, W. N. Y., Oct. 1, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS's Letter to Senator Lane, on the Reconstruction of States. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 23.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATIONS.

The Rev. THOMAS HUBBARD VAIL, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Muscatine, Iowa, was consecrated Bishop of Kansas, Dec. 15, 1864, in Trinity Church, Muscatine, Iowa. Morning Prayer was said by Rev. Messrs. Judd, of Iowa, and Ufford, of Ohio; the testimonial of Election was read by Rev. H. W. Powers; the assent of the Standing Committees was read by Rev. Hiram Stone; the consent of the Bishops was read by the Rev. Dr. Clarkson; the Sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Lee, of Iowa; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper was Consecrator, assisted by the Rt. Rev. Bishops Whitehouse, Lee, and Bedell.

The Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D. D., Rector of Calvary Church, New York, was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Western New York, Jan. 4th, 1865, in Trinity Church, Geneva, W. N. Y. Morning Service was said by the Rev. Dr. S. H. Coxe, the Rev. Dr. Beach, the Rev. Dr. Claxton, the Rev. Dr. Hobart, the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, and the Rev. Dr. Ingersoll. The Ante-Communion Service was said by the Rt. Rev. Bishops DeLancey, Hopkins, McCoskry, Odenheimer and Talbot. Bishop Odenheimer preached the Sermon. The Bishop-elect was presented by Bishops Odenheimer and Talbot. Copies of official papers, Testimonials, &c., were read by Rev. Dr. Ingersoll, the Rev. Messrs. A. B. Goodrich, W. A. Matson, and Rev. C. W. Hayes; the Rev. Drs. Jackson and Rankin assisted in vesting with the Episcopal robes; the Rt. Rev. Bishop DeLancey officiated as Consecrator, all the Bishops above named assisting in the imposition of hands. Bishop Hopkins said the Post-Communion Service, and Bishop DeLancey, presiding, said the concluding Prayer, and pronounced the Blessing of Peace.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Adams, Chas. C.	Williams,	Dec. 21, 1864,	Chapel, Middletown, Con.
Averill, M. V.	Ufford,	Nov. 27, "	Christ, Indianapolis, Ind.
Bakewell, John,	Potter, A.	Dec. 11, "	Mediator, Philadelphia, Penn.
Bishop, E. R.	Smith,	Jan. 29, 1865,	St. John's, Louisville, Ky.
Kramer, John W.	Odenheimer,	Jan. 22, "	St. Peter's, Spottswood, N. J.
Moore, Francis,	Smith,	Jan. 29, "	St. John's, Louisville, Ky.
Ray, John Wainwright,	Whitehouse,	Jan. 19, "	Bishop's, Chicago, Ill.
Reeves, Abraham,	Talbot,	Jan. 12, "	Trinity, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Carey, Joseph,	Potter, H.	Feb. 23, 1865,	Grace, Waterford, N. Y.
" Cole, Hiram H.	Smith,		Calvary, Louisville, Ky.
" Corbyn, J. I.	Hawks,	Dec. 20, 1864,	Christ, St. Louis, Mo.
" Fischer, Chas. L.	Stevens,	Dec. 18,	" St. Matthew's, Philadelphia, Pa.
" Perry, H. G.	Kemper,	Dec. 8,	" Nashotah Chapel, Delafield Wis.
" Randall, Edw'd H.	Hopkins,	Dec. 7,	" St. Paul's, Royalton, Vt.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Evangelists,	Potter, A.	Dec. 18, 1864,	Philadelphia, Penn.
Nativity,	Stevens,	Jan. 22, 1865,	Philadelphia, Penn.
St. Paul's,	Potter, H.	Dec. 13, 1864,	Albany, N. Y.
Trinity,	Clark,	Dec.	" Seituat, R. I.

OBITUARIES.

The Rt. Rev. THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Connecticut, and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, died at Hartford, Jan. 13, 1865, aged 86 years.

The Burial Services were performed in Christ Church, Jan. 17th, at 1 o'clock, P. M. Special Prayers for the family were offered at his late residence, by the Rev. Dr. Clark, of Hartford. The following gentlemen officiated as bearers:—Of the Laity, Messrs. Zephaniah Preston, Ebenezer Flower, A. S. Stillman, George Beach, J. G. Wells, L. B. Goodman, Wm. T. Lee, Edward Goodman, T. C. Allyn, Elisha Johnson, F. A. Brown, D. W. Pardee, R. D. Hubbard, James Bolter, Geo. G. Sill.

Of the Clergy,—Rev. Drs. Mead, Hallam, Clark, Beardsley, Emery, Camp, Willey, Goodwin, Jarvis, Holcomb, Fuller, Short, and Rev. Messrs. Fisher, Yarrington and Huntington.

The procession entered the Church in the following order; Bishop Eastburn reading the sentences:—

		Bishops.		
		Rector of Christ Church.		
Bearers.				Bearers.
Family and Friends.				
The Clergy, as Mourners.				
Wardens and Vestry of Christ, St. John's,				
Trinity, and St. Paul's Churches.				
Faculty and Students of Trinity College.				
Faculty and Students of Berkeley Divinity School.				
Officers of Retreat for the Insane.				
Citizens.				

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, read the Anthem; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, the Lesson; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Burgess, of Maine, delivered an address; and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Eastburn, of Massachusetts, offered Prayers from the Litu-

gy. At the grave, in Spring Grove Cemetery, the remainder of the Burial Service was performed, by the Rt. Rev., the Bishops of Vermont and New York. At a meeting of the Bishops and other Clergy, in the Chapel of Christ Church after the Burial, appropriate commemorative and tributary Resolutions were unanimously adopted. Those who have known Bishop Brownell only in his later years, when the infirmities of old age had crept upon him, can but imperfectly appreciate the qualities of his character, and the valuable services which, during his long life, he has rendered to the Church. We propose to offer a tribute to his memory in the next No. of the Review.

The Rev. GEO. WASHINGTON DOANE COPELAND, Assistant Minister of St. Luke's Church, New York, died at Boston, May 21st, 1864, aged 31 years. He was born in Boston, Feb. 22d, 1833; he first engaged in mercantile pursuits; entered the German Theological Seminary, in October, 1857, and graduated in 1860; was ordained Deacon in Trinity Church, New York, July 1st, 1860, by Bishop Chase; and Priest, Oct. 17, 1863, in St. James' Church, Fordham, N. Y., by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Horatio Potter. His ministerial life was spent in connection with St. Luke's Church, New York City; yet his labors were frequently interrupted by physical weakness and suffering. He was buried from the Church of the Advent, in Boston, May 24th. A memoir of his singularly beautiful and saintly life, is said to be in course of preparation.

The Rev. DAVID DOREMUS died in Brooklyn, N. Y., July 29th, 1864. He was born near Paterson, New Jersey, March 5th, 1835. In 1837, he removed, with his parents, to Little Neck, Long Island, and remained there until 1845. Four years afterwards, he removed to New Rochelle, N. Y., where he was baptized by Rev. Mr. Bolton, at that time Rector of Christ Church, Pelham, N. Y. In 1852, he connected himself with the Baptist Society, in New Rochelle, and was by them sent to Madison University, Hamilton, N. Y. He remained there only a year, not being able to agree with, and renouncing the doctrines taught by his Baptist brethren. In 1856, he was confirmed in Christ Church, Pelham, by the Rt. Rev. Horatio Potter, D. D. He then entered Kenyon College, and, in 1858, became a member of the Junior Class in the General Theological Seminary, N. Y. City. During his Senior year, he was ordained to the Diaconate, and served the Congregation at St. John's Church, Willmot, New Rochelle, where he continued to minister until the time of his death. During his long illness he was patient, and his ministry, though brief, was characterized by great unostentation and fidelity.

The Rev. DAVID G. TOMLINSON, whose death was recorded in our last No., was born in Milford, Conn., Jan. 14, 1799. His studies, preparatory to the Ministry, were directed by the Rev. Edward Rutledge, Rector of the Parish in Milford, and the Rev. Henry Judah, of

Bridgeport. He was ordained Deacon, in St. John's Church, Bridgeport, Nov. 17, 1831, by Bishop Brownell, and Priest, by the same Bishop, in Christ Church, Watertown, Jan. 17, 1833. He was Minister of St. Paul's, Bantam Falls, and Trinity, Milton; then of Christ Church, Tashua; and subsequently, of Emmanuel Church, Weston, Conn. He published a useful pamphlet, "Harmony of the Protestant Doctrine of the Sacraments," showing that Baptismal Regeneration is taught in the Doctrinal Standards of the leading denominations; and also "Thoughts on the Righteousness of Justification," which work appeared just before his death. Mr. Tomlinson was a devout man, of great sincerity and simplicity of character.

The REV. WILLIAM YAHN died in July, 1864. He conformed to the Church, with his whole Congregation, about a year since, having been a Lutheran Clergyman at Valparaiso, Ind. He was ordained Deacon, by Bishop Upfold, at Trinity Church, Michigan City, Ind., Feb. 14, 1864, and Priest, by the same Bishop, in St. James' Church, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 21, 1864. He was on a journey to collect funds for the erection of a Church, when he was shot by guerillas, on the North Missouri Railroad, in July last. The letter giving an account of this tragic end, was misdirected, and for many months his family and friends were ignorant of the manner of his death.

The Bev. JOHN O'BRIEN, D. D., Rector of Zion Church, Pontiac, Mich., died at Pontiac, Dec. 13, 1864, aged seventy-one years.

The Rev. WILLIAM CHRISTIAN died at Minneapolis, Minnesota, Dec. 13, 1864, aged 30 years. He was a native of Virginia; was ordained Deacon, by Bishop Whittingham, in Grace Church, Baltimore, Feb. 28, 1858, and Priest, by the same Bishop, in Calvary Church, Baltimore, March 24, 1859. He was Assistant in Ascension Church, Washington City; Rector of All Saints' Church, Calvert, Md.; and Rector of St. Albans Parish, in the District of Columbia.

The Rev. JOSIAH MULFORD HEDGES died at Herkimer, New York, Dec. 22, 1864, aged 42 years. He graduated at Madison College, Hamilton, N. Y.; conformed to the Church, studied at the General Theological Seminary, was ordained Deacon, July 3, 1853, in Trinity Church, New York, by Bishop Wainwright, and Priest, June 3, 1855, in St. John's Church, Honeoye Falls, by Bishop DeLancey. He labored at Honeoye Falls, and Middleburgh, W. N. Y., and in 1858 became Rector of Christ Church, Herkimer, which position he was compelled by ill health to resign in 1863.

The Rev. RICHARD HENRY LEE, LL. D, Rector of Trinity Church, Washington, Penn., died at that place, Jan. 3d, 1865, aged about 75 years. He was, for many years, Professor in Washington College, Penn.

The Rev. TAPPING REEVE CHIPMAN died at White Plains, New York, Jan. 1st, 1865, aged 54 years. He was born at Middlebury,

Vt., Feb. 9, 1811, of Presbyterian ancestry. It was a careful study of the Presbyterian Dr. Miller's (of Princeton) quotations from the Fathers, which seems first to have shaken his confidence in Presbyterianism. He saw that these quotations were garbled, mutilated, and did not give the true testimony of the Fathers, as to the Constitution of the Christian Ministry. How he reconciled such use of the Fathers, on the part of Dr. Miller, with moral honesty, we do not know. But the result of his careful study led him, finally, to seek Orders in the Church. He graduated at the General Theological Seminary, in 1839. He officiated in Brockport, Leroy, and East Bloomfield, W. N. Y.; Astoria, N. Y.; Christ Church, Detroit, Mich.; was Rector of the Church of the Reconciliation, New York City, and was Assistant Minister in St. George's Parish, at the time of his death. He was a good classical scholar, and a zealous, conscientious Minister of Christ.

The Rev. HENRY P. POWERS, late of Ypsilanti, Michigan, died at Jeffersonville, Ind., Jan. 2, 1865.

The Rev. JONATHAN GODFREY, Jr. died at Six-Mile-Run, New Jersey, Jan. 28th, 1865, aged 36 years.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CHURCH.

The Rev. CHARLES C. ADAMS, lately ordained Deacon, in Connecticut, by Bishop Williams, was formerly a Methodist preacher.

The Rev. J. W. RAY, lately ordained Deacon, by Bishop Whitehouse, in Illinois, was formerly, and for many years, a Presbyterian minister.

The Rev. AUGUSTUS HOHNG, formerly a German Reformed minister, has become a Candidate for Orders in Ohio.

Mr. J. W. KRAMER, lately ordained Deacon, by Bishop Odenheimer, was formerly a prominent Methodist preacher in New Jersey.

The Rev. ABRAHAM REEVES, recently ordained Deacon in Indiana, was for many years a preacher among the Methodists.

At a recent Confirmation in South Amboy, N. Jersey, nearly all of the candidates were heads of families, and all but three of them (19) converts to the Church, one having been an esteemed preacher of the Methodist denomination. This is one of three Methodist ministers who have recently come into the Church in this Diocese, one of whom is shortly to be ordained.

BISHOP WILLIAMS ON THE DECISION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Williams, in his Address to the last Connecticut Diocesan Convention, has the following words on a subject now

deeply agitating the English Church. The Bishop's statement of the character of the Court is important, and his caution to American Churchmen most opportune:—

"And here, Brethren, I might close this Address, did I not feel anxious to add a few plain words concerning some of the dangers which beset the Church, in consequence of the rationalizing and unbelieving tendencies of the age.

"Recent occurrences in the Mother Church have brought these dangers nearer to us; and, for a reason which will immediately appear, I desire to speak briefly of them. I find an impression widely prevalent, that the Church of England has synodically decided, that her Clergy are not bound to hold the Holy Scriptures to *be* the Word of God, and are at liberty to deny the eternal punishment of the wicked. This view of the case will, no doubt, be zealously propagated by those who rejoice in any and all giving up of Christian Doctrine; and by those, also, who would be glad to cast this reproach upon our Mother Church and ourselves.

"But, God be thanked, it is not so. A tribunal, indeed, created by the State, possessed of no proper ecclesiastical character, in no way authorized to represent or to speak for the Church, and whose decisions are, in spiritual matters, entitled to no weight beyond what the individual character of the persons composing it may give them, has, apparently, decided, that under the present relations of the Church of England to the State, she is restrained from bringing discipline to bear on those who deny the two points above mentioned. Stretched to the very utmost, this is all that can be made of the case. There is no decision of the Church. All that there is, is interference on the part of the State. And that interference does not change doctrine; it simply shields individuals from discipline.

"The case seems to me exactly analogous to that of the interference of the Arian Emperors in the fourth century. They could not pronounce upon, far less could they change, the Faith of the Church. But they could interfere with the Church in various ways, and especially by preventing discipline from falling on heretical Bishops and Clergy. And this is all that has been, or that can be done, in the Mother Church.

"We, happily, are in no danger from such interference. If we have no special State protection—at the best a very questionable boon—and no power to annex to spiritual censures any "civil penalty or incapacity"—always and everywhere a positive evil—we have, still, all that liberty of exercising spiritual discipline which Christ has given to the Church; a liberty which we trust God will, in His own good time and way, restore, in its fullness, to our venerated Mother Church.

"So long, however, as all those admitted to Holy Orders among us, are obliged to declare that they believe the "Holy Scriptures *to be* the Word of God," no honest man can claim that he fulfills the requirements of that declaration, by saying that the Scriptures only *contain* the Word of God. And so long as no technicalities of human law can intervene to shelter him, no man can so "palter in a double sense" with the language of our formularies, as to assert that the

words "everlasting" and "eternal," mean one thing in some places, and another thing in others.

"Still, while we are thus fortunately relieved and guarded, let us not think that we are in no danger from that restless and unlicensed spirit of rationalism which has been the source of all these evils. We are in danger from it; and it is our duty—I venture to address myself specially to my brethren of the Clergy—to guard ourselves, and our people against it.

"For ourselves, let us cultivate a humble and prayerful spirit in our dealing with God's Holy Word; seeking, in our study of it, the illuminating presence of the Holy Ghost, as well as all aids of human learning; and bearing in mind that our duty is not to *make*, but to *"keep"* the Faith. I believe facts will warrant me in the assertion, that the boldest dogmatizers against the Scriptures have been those whose study and knowledge of them have been most superficial. As the astronomer finds disturbances and anomalies in planetary systems, which farther study proves to be only deeply planned and far-reaching compensations, tending not to destruction but to harmony; so, difficulties and apparent discrepancies come up, from time to time, in Holy Scripture, on which a hasty captiousness builds up a theory of denial, but in which a believing, patient spirit finds, at last, new harmonies of truth, and fresh supports of faith.

"And for our people, let us be more anxious to build them up in the Faith, than to amuse them with our speculations. Let the exposition of God's Word form a large part of what we preach to them. Let us lead them, ever in penitence and faith, to the Cross of Christ, as the only way of their salvation, and to the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, as the only source of living effort and real holiness. Let us strive to keep them in the unity of the Church of God; in the regular and devout use of prayer, and Holy Sacraments, and means of Grace; that so, by God's mercy, we may save both ourselves and "them that hear us;" remembering always, that error is best avoided or displaced, by bringing men to understand, to appreciate, and to be settled in the truth."

ILLINOIS. CHURCH GUILD OF CHICAGO.

Several meetings of the Bishop Clergy and Laity having been held, a Society has been formed with the above name. Its objects are in part as follows:—

I. To assist the Clergy in maintaining and diffusing the Church of Christ, in its Creed, discipline, worship, and charity; in all pertaining to the general work of the Church in the City of Chicago, and the special work of the parish.

II. To revive and maintain the religious observance of the worship and offices of the Church, by seeking those deprived of, or neglecting its privileges; to provide enlarged accommodations for public worship, and increase the number of Churches, Chapels, or Schools, in the destitute parts of our city; to promote the regular attendance on Divine Worship; the due observance of the Festivals and Feasts of the

Church; the reception of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion, with the catechetical instruction of children; family worship; personal religion; and the demonstrative advance of the whole Church life.

VII. To promote and effect the creation and endowment of a **CHURCH HOSPITAL, a HOME FOR ORPHANS, FOR AGED AND INDIGENT PERSONS**, and such other institutions, under the authority and charge of the Church, as may conduce, by the Divine blessing, to mitigate the suffering, protect the exposed, and "train in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

VIII. The members of this "**CHURCH GUILD**," in each parish, shall be known and recognized as the "**CHAPTER**" of the same, bearing its distinctive parochial name. Under the Rector, the "**Chapter**" shall endeavor to advance and carry on the work of the Guild, in such Parochial Association as may be formed for Church work within the special district of the City adopted by that parish; and the "**Chapter**" shall be the representative of the same in the Church Guild."

AMERICAN CHAPEL IN PARIS.

The Consecration of the Church of the Holy Trinity, on the 12th of Sept. last, was a note-worthy event in our Church history. The service of the venerable Bishop McIlvaine, as Consecrator, the admirable Sermon of Rev. Dr. Morgan, one of the most eloquent and effective of our preachers, the representatives from the English and Russian Churches, and the presence of the learned Abbé Guetté, of the Romish Church, all gave to the occasion a Catholic character. The 12th of September has thus become thrice memorable in the history of this noble enterprise of our American Church. The 12th of September, 1858, saw the beginning of this work, in the setting up of the altar of our worship in Paris, since which time, that worship has never been interrupted there. The 12th of September, 1863, is marked by the ceremony of the laying of the corner-stone: a service of great interest and solemnity, which our readers will remember. Again, the 12th of September returns, to witness the crowning of the work, in the consecration of a beautiful Church. The cost of the building and ground was about \$36,000; and the Church, which is a modest, beautiful structure, will seat about 600 persons. The building, and completion, indeed, of this edifice, reflects the highest credit upon the American Church in general, and more especially upon its Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Lamson, and those who have more immediately aided him in the enterprise.

THE SHELTERING ARMS.

Among the Christian Institutions which are springing up in the Church in New York, we record one with the above name. It was opened October 6th. Its object, as stated by the Rev. T. C. Peters, who we believe was its principal originator, is, to take charge of the children of dissolute, or diseased, or dying parents, who cannot take

care of their own offspring, but are able to pay *something* towards the expense of their maintenance. Forty beds were ready for occupancy at the opening: and as soon as possible, the accommodation will be enlarged to 100 beds. The present House will then become only the House of Reception, and the children will be sent to the country and reared there on the Cottage Plan, each of a collection of Cottages having 15 or 20 children, with a common School and Chapel. Four devoted Christian women, as Sisters, take charge of the Institution, all of them having had several years of experience in associated labors of love, either at St. Luke's Hospital, or the Five Points Mission, or the House of Mercy. The House will be supported by annual subscriptions and donations of friends, who will pray as well as work, and enlist the services of others as well as give their own.

The House is the property, and has for many years been the residence, of the Rev. Mr. Peters, who gives a ten years' lease (if he should live so long) to the Charity, of the House and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground, without rent, except meeting the taxes and assessments. He acts as Pastor of the Institution. The need of the Charity may be seen from the fact that, before it was opened, there were already over sixty applications for admission.

The following are the officers:—*Pastor*, The Rev. T. M. Peters. *Treasurer*, Herman C. Von Post, 68 Broad street. *Trustees*, James Punnett, W. K. Kitchen, Simeon Draper, Wm. B. Clerke, Wm. Alex. Smith, Wm. J. Beebe, Benj. H. Field, Wm. Tracey, Bishop H. Potter, F. S. Winston, Gideon Pott, Henry J. Cammann, B. W. Bull, Wm. A. Haines, the Rev. Robt. S. Howland, D.D., D. Tilden Brown, Peter C. Tieman, Chas. H. Pond, John H. Riker, Wm. B. Astor.

THE MORAVIAN EPISCOPACY.

Whether the Moravians have a genuine Episcopacy or not, is of course an important question, and one which must be met before any steps looking toward Visible Unity with them, can be taken. But there is another question, equally important; in what regard is the organization and Ministry of the Church *practically* held by them? In a late No. of "*The Moravian*" newspaper, we find the following sentiment, from its "Foreign Correspondent;" and the practice of the Moravians, as far as we know, is in accordance with that sentiment. "Whatever, in any Church, tends to erect the ministers of religion into a separate order, with a separate policy and interests, is equally unscriptural and dangerous." A contributor to that paper, of March 2, 1865, writes thus:—"If we have not wholly misunderstood the character of our Church, we may, on the contrary, assert with the greatest confidence, that she is well adapted, perhaps better than most others, to carry the Gospel to all men. She holds to no denominational isms, to use a familiar term. She is averse to unprofitable speculations upon controverted dogmas of theology. She does not hold to any peculiarities, as essentials in the constitution of a Christian Church, such as the mode of baptism, or the so-called Apostolic Succession. She professes to know only Jesus, and Him crucified. This is her Shibboleth."

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

In the House of Representatives, on the 31st of January, the following Amendment was passed, by a vote of 119 to 56:—

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:—

ARTICLE 18.

SECTION I. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The amendment was passed by the Senate on Friday, April 8, 1864, by a vote of 38 to 6.

EMANCIPATION.—The following is said to be a carefully prepared estimate of the number of slaves thus far set free by the administration, or by the events of war:—

Mississippi, 155,540; Alabama, 145,023; Arkansas, 74,074; Virginia, 163,629; South Carolina, 67,066; North Carolina, 55,176; Louisiana, 201,150; Tennessee, 183,915; Delaware, 592; Maryland, 87,188; Missouri, 114,965; Texas, 30,427; Kentucky, 75,163; Georgia, 154,066; District of Columbia, 3,185; Indian Territory, 7,369; Utah, Nebraska, 44. Making an aggregate of 1,368,600.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW.—This eccentric, spirited and able Review ceased to exist with the October Number. Starting as the organ of Ultramontaniam, and with the published endorsements of nearly all the Romish Bishops in this country, it has veered about so that, in its later issues, it has levelled some of the heaviest blows against the Romish System, against Jesuits, &c., &c., which have ever been given. His professed entire obedience to Papal authority, and his inherent Rationalism, have filled the pages of his Review with all sorts of contradictions. Of late, his assaults upon the cardinal principles of the Papal System, though well deserved, have seemed to us almost reckless. Yet he still professes to be a devout "Catholic."

DIVORCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The following, from the *Newburyport Herald*, exhibits a melancholy state of things in Massachusetts. The *Herald* says:—

"In this little State of Massachusetts, one per day would be a mere fraction of what annually occur. There are probably more in this little city in one year, than there were in a generation, in the

whole State, prior to a century ago. There is a single law office here that does more than one a month; and it is not uncommon to have fifty or a hundred upon the docket of a County Court at one term. Go into the Court, and one perceives that sundering the ties is not considered of any consequence. The whole process does not often consume more than a half hour, and perhaps not half of that. It may be the prevailing opinion that this is all right, and tells well on the community; but we cannot help believing, that our entire action in the divorce business is demoralizing and degrading, to the utmost extreme."

NEW YORK CITY.—The Divine Liturgy, according to the Use of the Orthodox Oriental Church, was celebrated in Trinity Chapel, on Thursday, March 2d, by the Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, it being the anniversary of the accession of his Imperial Majesty, Alexander II., to the Throne of Russia. Sixty or seventy Slavonians and Greeks, resident in the city, were present. The use of the Church, for such a Service, was cheerfully given by Rev. Dr. Dix, Rector, and approved by the Bishop of the Diocese. Bishop Southgate and Rev. Drs. Dix and Thrall were within the Sanctuary, and the Clergy of Trinity Parish, and others, were in the stalls of the choir. Such a significant event, betokening the tendency to essential Unity between the Oriental and American Churches, has aroused the chagrin of the Romish and Presbyterian press, both of which make severe charges against the Orthodoxy of the Greek Communion. An answer to these accusations appeared in the last No. of this Review. The *Methodist* newspaper records the event, and appreciates its importance in a more scholarly and Christian manner.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

CONVOCATION.—On Tuesday, February 14th, both Houses of Convocation assembled at Westminster for the despatch of business. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, and there were present,—the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the Bishop of Bangor, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of Peterborough. The Bishop of London presented the following petition, which had been signed by influential Laymen of the Church:—

"To the most Rev. the Archbishop, and the Right Rev. the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, in pursuance of the Queen's writ, the humble petition of the undersigned lay members of the United Church of England and Ireland sheweth—

"That, under God, the gratitude of Churchmen is due to the Rev

the Clergy of the Province, now, and for some years past, assembled in their Convocation in pursuance of the Queen's writ, on account of the care and wisdom, the prudence and moderation, with which their deliberations have been conducted.

"That the Clergy of the Lower House are, in a special manner, entitled to the thanks of the United Church, on account of the dutiful spirit towards your Lordship's House with which the proceedings have been conducted.

"That the practical development of synodical action may be much promoted by the universal establishment of parochial associations, either limited to communicants or not so limited, as the case may be; and associations to meet and act, as far as possible, under the guidance of the Clergy, and to have in view the general action and interests of the Church, as well as the immediate duties and edification of each several member.

"That when such associations shall have become general and are regularly at work, but not before, a larger sympathy may be anticipated between the Clergy and both Houses of Parliament, now too often apparently hostile, for want of a more practical communication between the Clergy and their flocks.

"That the best thanks of the faithful Laity are due, for the valuable report on Lay Agency, presented by the Lord Bishop of London and Convocation, not to say in provincial synod, in the month of April, 1864.

"That since God's holy name may be glorified, and His blessed kingdom enlarged, not only by His ordained ministers, but also by those over whom they are appointed ministers, your petitioners desire to acknowledge, with gratitude, the distinct assertion which the said report on the Lay Agency contains, touching the duty of every private member of the Church to act as a fellow helper of the Clergy, apart from the agency of Laymen more especially contemplated there.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that you will be graciously pleased to take such steps as you deem meet, to encourage the promoters of parochial Church associations, and also to appoint a Committee of Bishops to prepare such books as may be needful for the guidance of Laymen employed in conducting religious services, under due sanction from the diocesan, and from the parochial Clergy, and with a view to the better carrying out of the 13th Canon of 1603, which books, being afterwards submitted to consideration by the Clergy, or as many dioceses or archidiaconal synods as the chief pastors may see fit to assemble, or may permit to be assembled, previous to final revision by your Lordships."

The Bishop of Oxford moved the following resolution:—"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to take into her Royal consideration the need which exists, from a vast increase of the population of England, for an increase of the English Episcopate, and that we would humbly specify St. Albans, Southwell, and Bodmin, or Truro, as places we would desire to see constituted cathedral cities, with their cathedral chapters and churches, to be the seats of Bishops, thus making better spiritual provision

for the populations of the present dioceses of London and Winchester, Exeter and Lincoln, and Lichfield."

The movement was supported by all the Bishops who spoke on the subject, and the Resolution was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be communicated to the Lower House.

In the Lower House, a Committee was appointed to inform the Upper House, of agreement to the Resolutions adopted by their Lordships in reference to the proposed creation of the new Sees of St. Albans, Southwell, and Bodmin, (or Truro,) adding, however, the words, "in the first instance."

On the subject of the Russo-Greek Church, the Rev. Chancellor Massingberd brought up the Report of the Committee appointed by command of his Grace, the President, and their Lordships of the Upper House, 1863, "to communicate with the Committee appointed at a recent Synod of the Bishops and Clergy of the United States of America, as to intercommunication with the Russo-Greek Church, and to communicate the result to Convocation at a future Session, which was read, as follows:—"That as the limited power conferred upon your Committee, by the terms of their appointment, did not authorize them to enter into direct intercourse with the authorities of the Eastern Church, the report of their proceedings will be mainly occupied with the account of their communications with the Committee of the Convention of the Church in the United States, on the same subject."

After stating what has been done by the American Church, the Report thus proceeds:—"It is an instance of the increasing interest that is taken in this question at home, that your Committee are enabled to state to the House, that there has been formed in England an association called 'The Eastern Church Association,' which already numbers, among its patrons, the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Belgrade, the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Dublin, with several more of our English Bishops, the principal objects of which are to inform the English public as to the state of the Eastern churches, and to make known the doctrines and principles of the Anglican Church to the Christians of the East. Your Committee have been favored, at their last meeting, with the presence of the Very Rev. Archpriests Popoff and Wassilieff, chaplains to the Imperial Embassies of Russia, at London and Paris, from both of whom they have received the most cordial assurances of personal coöperation. It would be premature to lay down any principles or conditions on which it may seem to your Committee that such intercommunion as is contemplated may be brought about; further than this—to establish such relations between the two communions as shall enable the Laity and Clergy of either to join in the Sacraments and Offices of the other, without forfeiting the communion of their own Church. That any overtures towards such an object should be made, if possible, in coöperation with those Churches with which the Church of England is in Communion; and that such overtures, whenever made, should be extended to the other Eastern Patriarchates, and not confined to the Russo-Greek Church."

In the Lower House, on motion of the Dean of Westminster, Canon Selwyn, the old question of the "Essays and Reviews" came up, and

in a House of fifty-one members, eighteen voted, in effect, to rescind the former vote of Convocation, condemning the book. Other matters of discussion were, the membership of Convocation, and mode of appointments; also the present anomalous condition of the Court of Appeal. Convocation was prorogued to Tuesday, May 16th.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS AT BRISTOL.—An English paper thus describes the meeting held in October last:—Hardly any topic was left untouched which excites at this moment a practical interest. The Increase of the Episcopate, the Synodical Action of the Church, Foreign Missions, the Peculiar Difficulties of Great Towns, the social hindrances which exist no less in the country, and the special organizations required for counteracting these; the Education of the Poor, of the Middle Classes, of the Clergy; the hotly-debated question of Free and Open Churches, the pleasant controversies of Church Architecture and Church Music, the Imperial topic—so much slighted hitherto, but now so rapidly rising into one of supreme importance—of the mutual relations between the separated portions of the Church in England and Ireland—all received some share, though several, necessarily, a small one, of the public attention.

Another distinguishing feature in this Congress has been, we think, the active part taken in its deliberations by the rank and file, and the inferior officers of the Church. There were not wanting, it is true, a fair number of distinguished and famous speakers. The wide learning, ruled ever by the soundest sense, of the Dean of Canterbury, the impetuous eloquence of the Dean of Cork, the genial and happy addresses of the Dean of Ely,—these evident overflowings of a warm heart and well-stored and ready intellect, which formed so conspicuous an element in the success of the meeting,—the ripe experience and practised elocution of Dr. Goulburn, the honored names of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble, among the Clergy, and among the Laity the well-known and long-tested services of Lord Lyttleton, and Mr. Beresford-Hope, the active and sensible assistance so often yielded in nice conjunctures by Lord Harrowby, and the cordial coöperation of Lord Fortescue, are more than sufficient to refute any charge of defection from the Congress of its natural and proper leaders.

One of the most valuable papers read, was that by Mr. J. M. Knott, Secretary to the Committee of Laymen, at the Bristol Congress, on the Origin and Progressive Development of the Parochial System, from which we give a brief extract:—

When Christianity spread over the nations, we see that in France, Spain, Germany, and in our most favored country, as Christian men and Sovereigns were influenced by the true faith, the preachers of the Gospel were provided for by first fruits, and instead of weekly, as in Apostolic times, by monthly oblations of the converts; and next in order, as civilization advanced, and under the authority of the great Fathers of the Church, by tithes under Scriptural injunction—*jure divino*.

Such payments were primarily made to Bishops, who were coëval with Christianity in England, some of whom may be traced as present at Councils of the fourth century. In the earlier years of the Bish-

ops, the ordained Clergy lived with them in common, the latter proceeding in their work of evangelizing, from the Churches in which the Bishops presided, as from centres, which became dioceses. As the Clergy gradually settled in distinct spheres, or incipient parishes, appropriate funds were distributed among them by their ecclesiastical superiors; and we also find that, in accordance with the practice of the Jews in the time of Ezra, the Clergy were relieved from tribute, impositions, and civil service.

As kingly rule obtained, though in Saxon times subdivided, the proprietors of the soil, acting in the spirit of the Old Testament precedent, and with the higher motives of the New, erected churches on their manors and estates, endowed them with revenues from their lands, with parsonages and glebe, and ultimately with tithe, for the support of the Clergy. That which was done at first voluntarily, gradually became recognized by law, and we find, as recorded by authorities already named, in the reign of Athelstan, Edgar, and Canute, laws directing the due payment of tithes; thus proving that a course, morally right in practice, becomes generally binding, and thus, that so beneficent an institution as Christianity ultimately received the support of all—religious and irreligious. We hear, too, in the last-named reign, of "Church Sceat," or "Scot," which seems to have been for external things of the Church, and to have answered to Church-rates in our day.

The parochial system, according to Selden, appears to have grown out of the diocesan, and to have increased very much between the eighth and twelfth centuries. After treating of the origin of parish churches in the diocese of Canterbury, that writer thus proceeds to trace their provincial extension:—

"But afterward, when devotion grew firmer, and most Laymen of fair estate desired the country residence of some chaplains, that might be always ready for Christian instruction among them, their families, and adjoining tenants; oratories and churches began to be built by them also; being hallowed by the Bishops, were endowed with peculiar maintenance from the founders, for the incumbents that should there only reside. Which maintenance, with all other ecclesiastic profits that came to the hands of every such several incumbent (in regard, that now the lay founder had, according to the territory of his demesnes, tenancies, or neighboring possessions, made and assigned both the limits within which the holy function was to be exercised, and appointed the persons that should repair to the Church, and offer there, as also provided, a special salary for the performance,) was afterwards also restrained from that common treasury of the diocese, and made only the revenue, which became perpetually annexed to the church of that clerk who received it. Neither was it wonder that the Bishops should give way to such restraint; for had they denied that to lay founders, they had given no small cause also of restraining their devotion Out of these lay foundations chiefly, doubtless, came those kind of parishes which at this day are in every diocese, their differences in quantity being originally out of the difference of the several circuits of the demesnes or territories possessed by the

founders. At what time these lay foundations began to be frequent, plainly enough, appears not. But some mention is made of them about the year A. D. 500, as you may see in Bede. Some such more, of about that time, may be found. But about the year A. D. 800, many Churches founded by Laymen are recorded to have been appropriated to the Abbey of Crowland whence it may be observed, that by this time lay foundations were grown very common, and parochial limits, also, of the parishioners' devotions."

This extract is from the ninth chapter of Selden's "History of Tithes," section iv. (at pages 1209-10, of the third volume of his works, edition of 1736.) Were further quotation admissible, the circumstances under which parochial division proceeded, in that early day, might be explained. In a preceding page (1202) there is a curious record of the manner in which, in the absence of tithe upon land, the case of a town population was met. By the Act of 27 Hen. VIII., it was provided that in the City of London, and is still provided, as shown by Mr. Dale, that the Clergy of some parishes should be paid by a tax upon house-rent. Before the reign of that sovereign, there had been a payment of a farthing for every ten shillings of rent, payable every Sunday and great festival day. This original payment would seem to have produced about three shillings in the pound sterling. It appears to have been commuted to two shillings and ninepence annually, and is still levied. A portion of the tithes of the mother parish was conveyed to the new parish, under a certain condition.

Here, then, we have light upon the origin of parish churches, which may be traced, by examination of the same writer, through Saxon and Danish times, to a later period of England's history.

It is unquestionable that endowments, whether of first fruits, churches, glebe, or tithe, in their origin, were voluntary but permanent, and remained so, until the corrupt practices derived from Rome supervened. Then monasteries and monks wrought themselves into the parochial system, the latter appealing to those who paid the tithes, and still exercised a voluntary power over them, to accumulate them in their establishments. Subsequently the Dominican and Franciscan friars took a prominent part in the same grasping selfishness.

In this appropriation of tithes and other parochial endowments to the monasteries, we see the first steps of that mischief to the parishes which was consummated by the cupidity and spoliation of Henry VIII. Hence it was that a large portion of the legitimate provision for our parishes became inappropriate, and that we hear so largely of vicarial tithes being the resort of our Clergy in the present day."

ORDINATION EXAMINATION.

The following paper will interest our Clergy and Candidates for Orders. It was sent to Candidates for the Diaconate, lately, in the Diocese of Lichfield. The examination in the Greek Testament was oral. The Bishop of Lichfield specially requested that Professor J. J. Blunt's work on the *Undesigned Coincidences of Holy Scripture* be read by all the Candidates.

I.

"1. What incidents are noted by Professor Blunt as confirming the fact that in the time of the Judges there was no smith in Israel? How does Professor Blunt account for a wood of Ephraim in the land of Gilead? What is Professor Blunt's view of the character of Mephibosheth?

"2. Under what circumstances does Professor Blunt notice that jealousy is attributed to God? What is Professor Blunt's observation on the marriage of Amram with Jochebed? How does Professor Blunt account for Mount Hermon having a Sidonian name?

"3. Give a full account of Absalom, Jehu son of Nimshi, Sampson.

"4. What are we taught of God's ends in afflicting men? Give instance from Scripture of afflictions proving to be blessings; cite promises in reference to afflictions.

"5. How would you establish the antiquity, truth, and authority of the Pentateuch?

"6. Show in what respects the Psalms illustrate the history of David, and may be taken as containing prophecies of what should happen after David's time. Mention any of the Psalms that have, with good reason, been attributed to other writers than David.

"7. Taking the writings that exist under the name of Solomon, show by citations what it was the writer specially pressed, and what were the distinctive features of his character.

II.

"1. Give some instances of variations in the histories of the same event, as preserved in the writings of the four Evangelists. What have you to say in explanation of these variations?

"2. Give some account of the verbal coincidences in the writings of the Evangelists. What explanation have you to suggest of these coincidences?

"3. Give the meaning of the words ἀγνάφον, βιβαρνημένοι, ἰσπλάγχθη, θερσίμος, κουστωδία, ὄξους, ὀρχησαμένης, σινδόνι, αἰτεντόν, τριμαλιῶς.

"4. Give the practical lessons from the parables of the new wine in old bottles; the laborers hired at a penny a day; the strong man armed keeping his palace.

"5. Give the practical lessons taught in the concluding chapters of the Epistle to the Romans; the contents of the Epistle to the Ephesians; the object and method of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"6. Cite passages and arguments from the New Testament in favor of unity; give instances of, and cautions against, backsliding; show what St. Paul considered to be matters indifferent, in comparison with the great matters pressed by him.

"7. In what respects do we receive knowledge of St. Paul's history from his Epistles? Give, where you are able, his words.

"Note.—The candidates are examined *viva voce* in the Greek Testament."

III.

"1. Give the substance of the Second Article—*Of the Son of God*.

Show the practical importance of our being assured that He is truly God and truly man.

"2. How do you establish the canon of the Old Testament? How do you establish the canon of the New Testament? Give from Scripture some of the most notable commendations of God's word written.

"3. Give the substance of the Ninth Article—*Of Original Sin*—with some account of the controversies on that matter.

"4. What is meant by justification? Show that we are justified by faith only. Show that this doctrine is not Antinomian.

"5. Give the substance of the Nineteenth Article—*Of the Church*. Under what figures is the Church spoken of in Scripture? What practical lessons do we learn from these figures?

"6. Show in what respects our doctrine as to the Holy Communion differs from that of the Church of Rome, and from that of the Zuinglians.

"7. How does our Church define a Sacrament? Give as fully as you can, in the words of her formularies, what the Church teaches us concerning Baptism—classifying your citations from these formularies."

IV.

"1. Show in regard to our Liturgy that it is Scriptural, primitive, reasonable.

"2. Give reasons for being an Episcopalian, for encouraging infant baptism, for being careful to bring young persons to be confirmed.

"3. What reasons, apart from Holy Scripture, have you for believing that God exists; that he is moral Governor of the world; that we shall live after death?

"4. Show how true religion is the safeguard of States, and necessary for the present comfort of man.

"5. Whom do you regard as the greatest Doctors of the Church in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, respectively? Give some account of their lives and of their teaching.

"6. Show by what steps the Reformation of Religion was brought about in England. Can you trace how it took a middle course between superstition and needless innovation?

"7. Give, fully, the engagements made by a Deacon when ordained."

THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES.

The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin, on behalf of themselves and the Vice-Presidents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, have issued an Address "To our beloved brethren in Christ, the Clergy and Laity of the united Church of England and Ireland," in aid of Church work in the Colonies and dependencies of the British Crown. The following is their Graces' Address *in extenso*:—

"We beseech you, brethren, to weigh as in the sight of God, the few words we feel called upon to address to you, touching the duty of our Church and nation as to the maintenance of Christian missions.

"We deem the obligation binding us to discharge this duty to be at this time especially imperative.

"The scattering of our people throughout the world; the large emigration of our own poor who, unless we plant among them the Church of God, must lapse into heathenism; the obligation which we contract to the heathen people amongst whom our emigrants settle, and to whom they inevitably carry the contagion of our diseases and of our sins; and the fact that our Crown holds in India a vast empire over Mussulmans and Pagans—all these things force upon us the inevitable alternative of either neglecting daily the plainest obligations, or of doing heartily the work of evangelizing the world.

"The main present hindrance to the discharge of this work is the lack of funds. From every side the cry for aid reaches us daily. Here are some recent appeals to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts:

"1. From the Bishop of Calcutta: 'I am anxious that the Society should gradually extend its operations systematically through the north-east and east parts of the diocese, including East Bengal, Assam, the Hill Tribes on the frontier, Burmah, and so down to Singapore. The field would be of varied and hopeful interest. In Bengal, Burmah, and the Straits, the Society is already to a certain extent planted. It would have to deal with several great cities, many tribes in various stages of civilization, wholly free from the trammels of caste, Hindoos, Buddhists, Malays, and even Chinese.'

"2. From the Bishop of Labuan: 'I have had several applications in the course of the year for missionaries in new places, both from natives and from the European residents in charge of the Sarebas and Kanowit Dyaks. They say that the time has come for placing missionaries among their people, and they offer to help them. The variety of language makes native catechists the more necessary for us, and I trust the Society will authorize me to form an organized staff of them.'

"3. From the Bishop of Capetown: 'I do trust that you may be able to do something more for us next year. If not, we must abandon the work.'

"4. From the Bishop of Grahamstown: 'If the society is unable to make an additional grant, we must consider without delay which of the mission agents can be otherwise employed. Mr. B—— has been removed from the Society's list, and he will not be employed again unless some increased grant is made.'

"5. From the Dean of Maritzburg, diocese of Natal: 'Natal is about the size of Scotland. Every consideration requires that the colored people on the plantations and in the towns should be immediately cared for, as well as the scattered European population. This, wholly irrespective of mission stations, would require twelve clergymen, with agents working under them, but we are without men and without resources to support them.'

"6. From Bishop Twells, who has recently gone forth to the Orange River Settlement, South Africa: 'The country which will form my diocese is larger than England in extent. There are some eight or ten towns or villages in the Free States, widely distant from one another (from 60 to 200 miles or more), each of which should be the

centre of missionary action for the territory around. But besides the wants of the Orange River Free States, provision has to be made for the planting of a mission among the 170,000 Kaffirs in Basuto Land. For years past some of the chiefs have desired Christian teachers. Moshesh will give every support to the mission, so will Morokko, Paulas, Mosali, Nohemcah, and others.'

"7. From the Bishop of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands: 'We want three more clergymen, and not less than 200*l.* a year for each. People cannot understand why we are paralyzed for want of funds to extend our work, when great and effectual doors are being opened.'

"From the Bishop of Ontario, Canada: 'We urgently need at this moment six travelling missionaries, who shall be wholly supported (if necessary) for at least three years from external sources.'

"From the Bishop of Columbia: 'There is a further want in the diocese at once, of thirteen additional clergy and five catechists, at a cost of 4000*l.* a year.'

"Shall such calls as these remain unanswered? And if they do, must not these rejected multitudes cry unto the Lord against us, and it be a sin which shall be laid to the charge of our Church and nation?

"We earnestly and affectionately entreat you to make a new and great effort for a large increase in our present missionary funds.

"Speaking in the name of the vice-presidents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, we plead specially for that peculiar instrument of service. But we do not limit our sympathies to it. We are convinced that in no other way can the work be done than by every parish, as a part of its separate parochial assistance, raising its own contributions for the work; and we therefore beseech our brethren of the clergy to preach one sermon annually, and make a collection for Church of England missions; and we pray our brethren of the laity to help them, not only by their contributions to this annual collection, but by securing regular subscribers, if they are not such at present, or if they are, by increasing on a new scale of Christian liberality their aid to the funds of the societies they support, and by forming themselves into associations for the more complete effecting of this great work of God.

"C. T. CANTUAR; W. EBOR; MARCUS G. ARMAGH; RICHARD C. DUBLIN."

ENGLISH CHURCH MISSIONS IN INDIA.

From the *Colonial Church Chronicle* we take the following:—At a meeting of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," a letter was received from the Bishop of Calcutta, in which the Bishop gave a sketch of his late metropolitical visitation of India and Ceylon. He left Calcutta on Nov. 9, 1863, and returned to Calcutta on Feb. 27, 1864, having delivered his charge in the cities of Madras, Bombay and Colombo. The Bishop spoke in high commendation of the Theological College, under the Rev. A. R. Symonds, at Madras; at Bombay he noticed the great stride taken by female education, "in which

the capital of the Western Presidency was *facile princeps* among India cities;" and at Colombo he was struck by the impetus given by Bishop Claughton to missionary work, preaching himself (at present through an interpreter) to the Tamil coolies on the coffee estates, and promising soon to understand both Tamil and Singhalese.

The following extracts are from the Bishop's letter :—

"Our next fortnight was spent in visiting the Missions of Tinnevely, the most interesting and inspiring sight in the whole country. We went round under the able and kind guidance of Dr. Caldwell. . . . In these the southernmost provinces of British India, there are nearly 40,000 native members of our Church, whose Christian villages, schools, and churches, were scattered like so many oases amidst the deserts of red sand and forests of palmyra trees. They are under a regular parochial organization, far stricter and more real than anything we see at home; they contribute largely of their own substance to the maintenance of the poor, the building of Churches, evangelistic efforts among their heathen neighbors, and other good works; and they live under the ministry of 24 European and 14 native Clergy, assisted by nearly 200 native Catechists. There is an efficient system of education organized throughout the Province, both for boys and girls; and there are four excellent training institutions for masters, mistresses, and catechists.

"The northern portion of Travancore and the adjoining State of Cochin are in the hands of the *Church Missionary Society*, and here our Church numbers about 8,000 adherents. Here, too, we visited the Syrian Christians. Of these, more than 100,000 are in communion with the Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch; but about 50,000 adhere to the Church of Rome, their ancestors having been forced into submission to the Pope, by Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in the sixteenth century. At Cottyam, the head-quarters both of the Jacobite Metran and of the *Church Missionary Society*, many of the Syrians, including even some youths in Deacon's Orders, are receiving education in our College. There seemed to me no unfriendliness at that station between the two Churches; but there is no longer the active co-operation which was designed by Buchanan and Bishop Middleton, and broken off during Bishop Wilson's Episcopate, mainly through the fault of the Metran of the time."

ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTION OF UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

This Society was established in 1857, and more than 7,000 persons have enrolled themselves members, of whom nearly a third consists of Clergy of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican communions. The only condition of membership in it is, that each member pledges himself to use daily the following prayer, together with the Lord's Prayer :—

O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto Thine Apostles, My peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church, and grant her that peace and unity which is agreeable to Thy Will, Who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen.

Recently this Association has put forth a volume of Sermons, the title of which we give in full :

Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom. By members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Communions. Beati Pacifici. London : Printed for certain Members of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, by Joseph Masters. 18mo. pp. 350.

Each individual contributor is alone responsible for what he himself has written. He is in no degree answerable for what stands side by side with his own Sermon ; nor is he in any way responsible either for the facts, statements, or opinions expressed in this preface, nor for the terms and sentiments in which the volume is dedicated. Nor is this a publication of the A. P. U. C. in the sense that the seven thousand persons who pray daily a prayer for peace and oneness, are in any way committed either to the particular opinions it contains, or to the general policy or wisdom of issuing it. A majority of the contributors have preferred to remain anonymous. Others have affixed their initials to their Sermons. Thus the volume, if it prove successful in the work it is intended to accomplish, will have gained that success from the intrinsic truth and power of its arguments and aspirations, rather than from any other causes.

The preface says : "No mere casual observer of the signs of the times can have failed to remark, how continually the high and holy subject of the visible re-union of Christendom, is now being brought prominently forward on all sides. Some years ago, only a limited number entertained the possibility of such a consummation. Now it is otherwise. Amongst each of the separated Churches,—the members of which claim for themselves the inheritance of the priesthood and the name of Catholic,—the movement for restored intercommunion is slowly and surely progressing. Since, in recent times, Dr. Neale first interested, on the one hand, the authorities of the Greek Church in the policy and work of the Anglican Communion, and of many of the English Clergy and Laity in the character and position of the Orthodox Eastern Church, on the other, prayers for the restoration of visible unity have been systematically and continually offered by members of each ; while the publication and use of Cardinal Wiseman's and Mr. Keble's respective prayers for unity, indicated a growing desire for peace between Latins and Anglicans. More recently, again, several of the Clergy on all sides have addressed themselves to a special consideration of this important subject. This is manifest in many ways ; Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, Bishops of the Anglican Communion in the Colonies, and prelates of the Eastern Church, are reported to have brought the subject of unity specially before their clergy in formal charges and pastorals. It is obviously unreasonable to expect the Bishops in England, whether Anglican or Roman, (though some have ventured to do so), to take any very active measures as yet. The great question, in the meantime, is more or less novel. For the present we must be satisfied if members of the second order, on both sides, and the Laity, ventilate the subject."

Besides a few other documents, there are eighteen Sermons, of which the titles and texts are as follows: Our Lord's continued Presence a Pledge of Future Unity, Habakkuk ii, 20; Work for Re-union, Baruch iv, 20; The Joy of Unity, Ps. cxxxiii, 1; The Church's Unity, St. Matt. xxviii, 19, 20; Unity a Motive of Action and a Pledge of Grace, St. John xvii, 21; The Blessing of Unity, Ps. l, 5; Re-union our Need and our Desire, St. John xvii, 20, 21; Visible Re-union a Special Necessity, St. John xvii, 20, 21; The Unity of the Body of Christ, St. John xvii, 21; Shall not the Church of England be heard? Acts vi, 1, 2; Christian Unity, Acts ii, 1; The Prayer of Christ for Unity, St. John xvii, 20-23; Christ's Death-bed Sermon disregarded by Christians, St. John xiii, 34, 35; Christian Unity, Eph ii, 16; The Night Cometh, St. Luke xviii, 8; The Broken Net, St. Luke, v, 6; On Future Unity; The A. P. U. C.

As a proof of how this movement is regarded at Rome, it appears that a letter has been received from the "Holy Office" at Rome, by a distinguished Roman Catholic prelate, who has for some years been a warm supporter of corporate re-union, and has taken a deep interest in the *Union Review* and its policy, intimating that this Church of England Magazine has been formally placed upon the *Index*, and that Dr. Manning (through whose influence so distinguished a mark of dislike is said to have been obtained) has been commissioned to warn all those members of the Roman Church in England, who have been in the habit of contributing to its pages, that they will be expected to discontinue the practice *under pain of excommunication*.

EASTERN CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—Besides the movement just noticed, there has also been formed an Eastern Church Association, whose objects are stated to be: "To inform the English public as to the social state of the Eastern Churches; to make known the doctrine and principles of the Anglican Church to our Christian brethren in the East; and to take advantage of all opportunities which Divine Providence shall afford us of Intercommunion with the Orthodox Eastern Church."

At a public meeting held at Clifton lately, Mr. Pellew showed how it was that it was easier for the American Episcopal Church to unite with the Greek: "In the first place, the American Church had already effected an alteration in the Apostles' Creed—that the article 'He descended into hell,' at the option of the Clergyman might be omitted, and for it substituted, 'He went into the place of departed spirits;' secondly, they had not the Athanasian Creed in their Liturgy; thirdly, they had a highly educated poor, if poor they could be called; and, fourthly, that for political reasons there was a great deal of affinity between the Russian and American Governments."

ANGLO-CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Anglo-Continental Society was held at 79 Pall-mall, London, on Wednesday, Dec. 7, Canon Wordsworth in the chair. The Lord Bishop of Ely was elected president of the Society; Canon Wordsworth was elected a member of the book committee; Archdeacon Bartholomew, Arch-

deacon Huxtable, Archdeacon Jacob, Dr. Biber, and the Rev. Nugent Wade, were added to the general Committee. The Secretary read the Annual Report, containing an account of the Society's operations in France, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia and England. Information in respect to France was embodied in a letter of the Rev. Archer Gurney; in respect to Italy, in a report of Count Tasco. At Messina, it was stated that a Society, consisting of Clergy and Laity, had been founded, of which the following was the Constitution:—

"ART. 1.—The object of our association is to profess and preserve, in all its purity, the religion and the faith taught by Jesus Christ, preached by the Apostles, and transmitted to us by the Primitive Church.

"ART. 2.—The Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, because they contain all that is necessary to be believed by every Christian, we accept as the rule of faith.

"ART. 3.—The three Creeds commonly received by the Church—to wit, that of the Apostles, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian, are in like manner received by us, because they contain purely Biblical doctrines.

"ART. 4.—We do not admit human authority in matters of faith, but we accept the first four Œcumenical Councils, because we are of opinion that they did not deviate from the sound and infallible teaching of the Holy Bible. In unity of faith, then, we will communicate with those Churches which have maintained, and do maintain themselves firm and constant in the doctrine of the Apostles and the teaching of the Primitive Church. With regard to discipline, every national Church has the power and the right to modify it, as necessity or sound morals, as well of the Clergy as the people, shall require, always, however, in conformity to the Word of God.

"ART. 5.—The Sacraments were instituted by Jesus Christ as means of sanctification for the whole Church in general, and for every one of the faithful in particular, and not for this or that class of persons in the Church; hence it is, that we do not find in the Gospel other than two only Sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ as such—to wit, Baptism and the Holy Supper or Eucharist, and as such they come to be professed by us. Confirmation, Penitence, Holy Unction, Sacred Orders, and Marriage, we retain as suited to certain states and conditions of particular life, but they have not, therefore, the efficacy of the two Sacraments of the Gospel.

"ART. 6.—Inasmuch as the Supper of the Lord was instituted by Jesus Christ as a continual commemoration of His only and sole great sacrifice on the Cross, where He offered Himself, once for all, a victim of propitiation, redemption, and expiation for all the sins of the world, it is necessary that the Communion should be given to the people, whole and entire, according to the practice of the Primitive Church.

"ART. 7.—The holy offices, and all the sacred rites, ought always to be celebrated in Italian, and never in a tongue not understood by the people.

"ART. 8.—Our worship ought to be addressed to God only, and always, as the Gospel prescribes, in spirit and in truth; therefore we re-

ject all those abuses and superstitions introduced into the Church through ignorance or the interests of men, that have corrupted the pure and simple worship of the primitive times of Christianity. We retain, however, the Cross of Jesus Christ, our sole Mediator between God and man, as the imperishable sign of our redemption.

"ART. 9.—The above articles have been compiled (so far as our feeble light reaches) from the Holy Scriptures, the early Fathers, and the practice of the Primitive Church; according to which we declare, that when the Italian Church shall have returned to the doctrines and maxims of the first ages, and shall be re-united in a National General Council, or in an Œcumenical Council, then we shall be ready to obey and follow all that shall be established in that Council, in matters of faith and discipline."

After an interesting address from the Chairman on the duty of English Churchmen towards Italian Churchmen, Henry Hoare, Esq., moved the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Nugent Wade:—"That in the present circumstances of the Kingdom of Italy, it is the duty of members of the United Church of England and Ireland, to coöperate, in a brotherly and affectionate spirit, with those Italians, lay and clerical, who are anxious to reform their Church on primitive principles."

Thomas Turner, Esq., moved the following resolution, which was supported by the Rev. J. James, and T. Parry Woodcock, Esq.:—"That an effort should now be made to strengthen the hands of the Anglo-Continental Society, so as to enable it to maintain additional agents, charged with the duty of disseminating the publications of the society, and of spreading the principles on which the reformation of the Church of England was effected in the sixteenth century."

The Secretary explained that, owing to the small funds at his disposal, only two native agents were at present engaged in carrying on the Society's work in Italy. One of them was an Italian nobleman, living in the north of Italy; the other, a Sicilian gentleman, living at Messina. There were great openings elsewhere, and there were men well suited for the post.

After some further discussion on Italy, the Chairman called the attention of the meeting to the other subject before them—Scandinavia. The Rev. Dr. Biber moved, and J. E. Meynott, Esq., seconded the Resolution—"That while thankfully recognizing the fact that, amid the schisms and estrangements of modern Christendom, no formal suspension of the ancient Catholic intercommunion has ever taken place between the Churches of England and Scandinavia, this Society deems the present circumstances especially favorable for promoting the renewal of such intercommunion, and will be happy to coöperate in any measures to bring about so desirable a result." The Rev. N. Wade and the Rev. F. S. May carried on the discussion, in which the Swedish and Danish Chaplains joined. The Rev. Trithiof Grafstroem, Swedish Chaplain, expressed his hope of seeing a union of the Scandinavian and English Churches, on the distinctive principles of the Churches, which were essentially one. The Rev. J. Plenge, Danish Chaplain, expressed his sympathy. The Chairman closed the meeting

with an address on the brightening prospect of Christian intercommunion, and with the Prayer for Unity in the Prayer Book.

In respect to the Swedish Church, the following letter, written to the (London) *Standard*, is worth preserving:—

"Your correspondent says, 'The King of Sweden is head of the Swedish Church.' Such a title has never been legally given to the Crown. The title of *Summus Episcopus* is, conventionally, frequently used, but is not to be found in any legal document as far as I know. This phrase may be understood in the same way as the very similar expression adopted by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, at the Council of Nice—viz., *Episcopus ab extra*. Thus also, Gustavus Adolphus termed himself *Defensor et Nutricius Ecclesie*.

"Your correspondent proceeds to affirm, that 'his Majesty appoints Bishops directly, without the intermediate recommendation of the Minister.' I beg to state that, according to the fundamental laws of the realm, the beneficed Clergy of each diocese have the right of proposing the names of three persons, one of which the Crown is obliged to choose. It is almost superfluous to add, that in a constitutional monarchy, no nomination whatever by the Crown has any validity, unless countersigned by a responsible Minister. With regard to the so-called 'Pope-King's' power of granting dispensations for marriages, &c., I will only remark that, whatever may be the power of the Crown in council, as to the civil aspect of such transactions, no marriage in Sweden—except the marriage between Jews and Christians—can be valid and legal without the benediction of the Church, and this benediction cannot be given by the King, but only by a Priest.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, FRITH GRAFSTROEM,
Chaplain to the Swedish and Norwegian Legation to London.

THE DANISH AND RUSSIAN CHURCHES.

The following letter appears in an English paper, and contains important statements:—

SIR:—Many of our brethren, who are interested in the movement towards intercommunion with both the Eastern and Northern Churches, upon the Nicene basis of evangelical truth and Apostolical order, will have read with regret the following announcement in the daily papers:—"A Commission of Churchmen has recently been named by the Synod of Moscow to visit Copenhagen, with a view to preparing the Princess Dagmar for receiving Baptism according to the Orthodox Eastern ritual."

This, if true, would have shown the hopelessness of our approaching the Greek and Scandinavian sections of Christendom at the same time, and would convict the former communion (even in Russia) of grievous inconsistency as to the article, "I believe in *one* Baptism for the remission of sins." Will you, therefore, give publicity to the correction with which a distinguished Russian ecclesiastic has kindly favored me?

"The 'Synod' holds its sittings, not at Moscow, but at St. Petersburg. There is no room or occasion for any 'Commission of Churchmen' to visit Copenhagen. The holy Synod, most likely, is engaged now in choosing and appointing a fit person for giving the Princess

Dagmar the proper instruction in the principles and tenets of the Orthodox Catholic Church. The Baptism of Protestants is recognized as valid by the Russian Church, the more so, that the whole of Oriental Christendom has allowed that Sacrament to be administered, in cases of necessity, by Laymen. It is not Baptism (except in some particular cases,) but Holy Chrism, which is administered by the Eastern Church to converts from other denominations.

"The question of the Apostolic Succession among Protestants is as yet an open question, at least in respect of the Anglican Church. Dr. Thiersch (*Ueber Katholicismus u. Protestantismus*) asserts that the Apostolic Succession is best of all (in respect of those of the Augustan Confession) conserved in the Scandinavian Church in Finland. I cannot tell you how earnestly I wish that all these questions could be elucidated, to the general satisfaction of our Churchmen. For our own Church, I hope and pray to see better times; she has been too much neglected by the whole West, and for too many centuries seemed altogether forgotten."

In illustration of the above, I may add, that the Bishops of Finland trace their descent from Peter Manson, Bishop of Westeraes, who was consecrated at Rome in 1524, and, on returning to the North, consecrated the first Reformed prelates; and that in the reign of John III., the successor of Gustave Wasa, there was a scheme for union of the Northern with the Eastern Church, which was mainly thwarted by the intrigues of the Jesuits.

F. S. MAY.

15, Craven-terrace, W., Oct. 23, 1864.

THE ROMISH CHURCH. MODERN CIVILIZATION AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We have, again and again, in this Review, proved that the teaching of the Romish Church is utterly hostile to both civil and religious liberty. We have a fresh proof of this, in the Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius IX, issued Dec. 8, 1864, in which the Pope sets himself, not only against Free Civil Institutions, but against modern Civilization. The following is an extract:—

"There are a great number of men in the present day who, applying to civil society the impious and absurd principle of naturalism, as it is called, dare to teach that the perfect right of public society and civil progress absolutely require a condition of human society, constituted and governed without regard to all considerations of religion, as if it had no existence, or, at least, without making any distinction between true religion and heresy. And, contrary to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, of the Church, and of the Fathers, they do not hesitate to affirm, 'that the best condition of society is that in which the power of the Laity is not compelled to inflict the penalties of law upon violators of the Catholic religion, unless required by the considerations of public safety.' Actuated by an idea of social government so absolutely false, they do not hesitate further to propagate the erroneous opinion, very hurtful to the safety of the Catholic Church and of souls, and termed delirium by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., of excellent memory, namely, 'LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND OF WORSHIP IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY MAN—a right which ought to be proclaimed and es-

established by law in every well constituted State, and that citizens are entitled to make known and declare, with a liberty which neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil authority can limit, their convictions, of whatever kind, either by word of mouth or through the press, or by other means."

"And do not omit to teach, 'that the royal power has been established not only to exercise the government of the world, but above all for the protection of the Church, and that there is nothing more profitable and glorious for the Sovereigns of States and Kings, than to leave the Catholic Church to exercise its laws, and not to permit any to attack its liberty; as our most wise and courageous predecessor, St. Felix, wrote to the Emperor Zenon. It is certain that it is advantageous for the Sovereigns, when the cause of God is in question, to submit their royal will, according to the established rules, to the Priests of Jesus Christ, and not to impose their will upon them.' (Pius VII. Epist. Enevel. *Diu satis*, May 15, 1800.)"

Once, such a document, from Gregory VI. or Innocent III., would have disturbed the peace of the world. Now, it is wholly unnoticed, or received only with contempt, except in nations where that Church has influence enough to plot mischief. In France, the Letter has already produced astounding results. As has been well said, "the Pope has broken the swords of his friends." Such men as Montalembert, and Thiers, and the Protestant Guizot, dare not defend the Papacy on such a basis, for they see that the Pope has set himself against the will of God and the deepest convictions of men. The Emperor has not only forbidden the publication of the Encyclical in France, but he has at once made Prince Napoleon, the sworn foe of the Papacy, Vice President of the Privy Council.

The Letter, in an Appendix, contains a long Catalogue of "Errors," which are condemned, very adroitly drawn up; in which gross Romish usurpations and social and infidel theories are cunningly blended. The Letter is said to be the work of the Cardinals, and is of the most ultra-montane type.

STATISTICS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.—The *Union Chrétienne* gives a late Report of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church, which, according to custom, was presented to the Emperor. The Church, it says, labored willingly and effectually to promote the emancipation of the serfs, expressing its joy in festive services, and mediating in the few cases where dissatisfaction was expressed. There are 477 convents of men, numbering 5,648 monks, and 4,789 novices; and 137 convents of women, numbering 2,931 nuns, and 7,669 novices. They are generally poor, but enjoy a high character for piety and benevolence. There are 50,165 consecrated buildings for worship, and others are being built. The inauguration of the Church at Paris, which is so much admired, is hailed as a sign of increasing vitality. There are 87 Bishops, 37,950 priests, 12,444 deacons, and 63,421 other clerics. With the addition of the ecclesiastics *en retraite*, the number of secular Clergy amounts to 126,164. The temporal condition of the country Clergy, though far from what it should be, is improving. The Orthodox population, omitting those in the army and navy, is 52,034,650;

of those, 37,612,978 communicated at Easter, *en bons Chrétiens*. The religious condition of the people generally is very hopeful, and a large number of new schools have been founded, very much of the expense of which has fallen upon the Clergy. In 1861, 9,605 converts to Russo-Catholicism are claimed; 5,519 Raskolniks, 1,019 Roman Catholics, 40 Armenians, 536 Lutherans, 8 of the Reformed persuasion, 427 Jews, 579 Mahometans, and 1,457 Pagans. Numbers of Bulgarians have returned to their allegiance. Missions, in remote places, have been set on foot. 8,000 families of Nestorians have petitioned for leave to join; and not a little has been done for suffering Christians in the East, who are grievously oppressed.

The Russian Journals contain details respecting the progress of the emancipation of the serfs, up to the month of August last, at which date there were only eight regulating charters still uncompleted, while 111,568 have been already brought into execution, and these refer to estates on which reside 10,001,220 country people. As many as 2,133,043 people have come into complete possession of their plots of land, and of this number, 430,702 have required no assistance from the State. A transitory condition is prevalent in provinces like Moscow and St. Petersburg, where the former serfs, rather artizans than cultivators of the soil, have not the same interest in at present becoming freed from their obligations towards their former masters.

GREECE.

In the new Constitution of the Kingdom, there is a provision tolerating all Creeds, but forbidding any interference with the established Creed of the country, namely, the Greek Church.

"1. The Orthodox Eastern Church of Christ is the established religion in Greece. Every religion is tolerated, and may be freely exercised under the protection of the law. Proselytism, and all interference with the established religion, is prohibited.

"2. The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging as its head our Lord Jesus Christ, is in doctrine indissolubly united to the great Church of Constantinople, and to every other Orthodox Church of Christ, observing with the same exactitude the Apostolic and Synodic Canons, and the holy traditions. But it is independent of every other Church, and exercises all sovereign rights under the government of a Holy Synod."

ENGLISH CHURCH AMONG THE ARMENIANS.

It will be recollected, that in a late No. of the Review, (Vol. XIV. No. III.) we pointed out the sources of troubles which had arisen among the Missions of the "American Board," to the Oriental Churches, and indicated the providential call upon the English Church to be true to the trust committed to her hands. The Bishop of Gibraltar, (Trower,) on a recent visit to Constantinople, performed certain official acts, and the Reformed Church of England was brought more distinctly to the notice of these Armenian Christians, who have separated from the Presbyterian Missions. We are told that "several deputations from among the body of Protestant Armenians, who were until very lately under the supervision of the American Missionary power,

have earnestly solicited that one of their officiating ministers should be ordained to the office of Priest, according to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church. It is believed that the Bishop is most anxious to accede to their request; and, for this purpose, owing to the grave and serious import of the application, has submitted the whole question to his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose reply is most anxiously expected by the members of the Armenian Protestant Church."

The Editor of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, after observing that the risk of giving umbrage to the American Board is not worth naming, and for reasons, says:—"It would be a real cause for most grave regret, if offense were taken by those ancient Churches—venerable, with all their faults—whose estrangement from our own communion such earnest and systematic efforts are now being made to abate. Nevertheless, the case is to be looked at in all aspects; and it has to be considered that the Church from which these Armenian *Acephali* originally departed, at Constantinople, was not the legitimate Church of the land, and still stands in obstinate opposition to the fourth of those Ecumenical Councils, whose decisions we, with the Western and greatest Gregory, reverence as the Four Gospels. We do not, indeed, believe, that the Armenian Church is committed to the fundamental heresy which she thereby seems to countenance; yet, does it not seem that a regard for Catholicity prohibits the return of these vagrants to whence they departed? If, after exchanging Eutychiean proclivities for the predestinarianism of the followers of Geneva, they seek to give in their final adhesion to a sound and primitive doctrine and discipline, is the English Church, whose influence has mainly helped to bring them to a better mind, to reject their application to her for aid, and thereby risk their lapse into utter infidelity?"

THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.—The Rev. Dr. A. Hume has published a work on the "Results of the Irish Census of 1861, with a Special Reference to the Condition of the Church in Ireland," in which he shows as follows: "The diminution in the entire population in twenty-seven years is 27·1 per cent; on the part of the Church, 13·4; of Roman Catholics, 30; of Presbyterians, 18·6; of other Dissenters, 44·7 per cent. Losing so heavily, says Dr. Hume, the Roman Catholic per centage for all Ireland fell from 80·22 in 1834, to 77·7 in 1861; while *that of the Church rose from 10·7 to 11·9, and of the Presbyterians from 8·98 to 9.*"

In one respect these figures of Dr. Hume show the influence of the Roman Catholic Religion on the social and moral condition of the people. The influence of the Confessional is often extolled by Romish writers as guarding female virtue. We believe it to be exactly the reverse. We should anticipate such a result, and facts prove it to be so. Dr. Hume says, "that in Lancashire itself, out of twenty-six rioters at Staleybridge during the cotton distress, twenty-one *were Irish Roman Catholics*, and that a recent Parliamentary return shows that there were 1,663 prisoners in six of the principal jails of Lancashire during the present year, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, Kirkdale, Salford, Manchester; that of these, 1,174, or 72 per cent, are

Roman Catholics, though the Roman Catholics of Lancashire amount to only 11 per cent. 'In other words,' says Dr. Hume, 'in comparison with their respective numbers, there are six and a half times as many Roman Catholics as Protestants the inmates of our gaols.' He says, that "brothel-keepers and prostitutes exist in unusually large Roman Catholic proportions," or that, in the whole province of Connaught, comprising nearly a million of souls, there is not a single prostitute connected with any class of Protestants whatever."

ENGLISH CHURCH IN WESTERN AFRICA.

On the occasion of the consecration of the Rev. SAMUEL CROWTHER, a Negro, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Committee of the *Church Missionary Society* pointed out—

"That the foundations of a Native Church in Western Africa were laid more than fifty years ago, by the devoted and self-sacrificing labors of European missionaries; that the Church had been gradually extended and brought to maturity by a succession of European and native laborers, till at present it may be estimated at nearly 20,000 members, comprising twenty-two native ordained ministers, and eighty native teachers and catechists; that the native Christians are chiefly resident in the colony of Sierra Leone, where nine parishes have been formed under as many native ordained ministers, these ministers being independent of the *Church Missionary Society*, and under the direct superintendence of the Bishop of Sierra Leone, and wholly supported by the contributions of their people; that other native members of the Church have settled at various points along the coast, while at Lagos and Abeokuta, 1,300 miles from Sierra Leone, another native Church, comprising nearly one-fourth of the whole number of Church members, is rising up, under the pastoral care of European missionaries and native ministers—the latest accession to the Christian Church being on the banks of the River Niger, 1,500 miles from Sierra Leone, where none but native ministers and teachers have yet labored, and where between 100 and 200 converts have been collected. The Diocese of Sierra Leone comprises only the British colonies on the coast; and as the Bishop resides in Sierra Leone, the western extremity of the diocese, Episcopal visits to the distant colony of Lagos are necessarily rare, and to parts beyond the limits of the letters patent, especially to the River Niger, hardly practicable. Hence many native teachers are waiting for ordination, and many converts of long standing are deprived of the rite of Confirmation."

According to the Colonial "Blue Book" of England, recently issued, there was in 1860 a population of 41,624 in the colonies of Sierra Leone, and 11,418 dwellings. Of the population, 15,682 were liberated Africans, and 22,593 had been born within the limits of the colony. Of the whole population only 3,351 still remained Pagans, and only 1,734 were Mohammedans. There were 15,130 Methodists, and 12,954 Episcopalians; 11,016 children were taught in the schools that year. Christianity has done much for the civilization and happiness of the people of that portion of Africa, and will do more.

MISSIONARY TRAINING IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

From papers read before the Church Congress in 1862 and 1863, and since published, we take the following :

"Our own Church in Christian England and Wales has about 18,000 Pastors, and these are found too few; the missionary Clergy of our two great Missionary Societies, sent forth to evangelize well nigh a world, number only 687! The students in our two Home Missionary colleges do not amount to 100. St. Augustine's has only 42, Islington not more than 55. Such is the Propaganda of our English Church! I am not unmindful that we have also some few colonial colleges."

"That University men, and men of gentle birth, make the best missionaries, we cannot for one moment doubt; the better the material the better the missionary. As yet, however, Oxford and Cambridge have not supplied their due quota for the Church's work abroad. With some most bright exceptions, their sons have not hastened to the help of the Lord against the mighty. The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, lately founded four Exhibitions, two at Oxford and two at Cambridge, of the value of 150*l.* per annum, for those graduates who desired to qualify themselves for the work of an Evangelist in India. A day of election was fixed and announced, but not one single candidate in either University appeared. . . . We must turn our eyes elsewhere, and beat up recruits in other quarters. We must go to other classes of society, and see what they will give us. Here lies an almost untilled field—supplies as yet hardly drawn upon at all. Dissent has found in the middle class her preachers and emissaries: in the great influential middle class has lain hitherto her strength. Here she has found men of great earnestness and power and vigor; men willing to spend and to be spent for Christ. Here we shall find an almost inexhaustible supply for missionary work. Here is an opening, a vent for young and ardent minds eager to do God's work. They are ready to work for the Church if the Church will let them. If she wont, Dissent will. . . . An eminent colonial Bishop of our Church well said, 'The great difficulty of the English Church was to get across the counter.' Here seems a way of getting them to come across."

It is gratifying to find that 260 clergy have been trained expressly for missionary work, in the College of the *Church Missionary Society*, at Islington, since its foundation in 1827; and 100 at St. Augustine's, since 1848. In proportion, also, to the increase of the colonial Episcopate, has been the increase of natives of the colonies and native Christians, converted from among the heathen, who have been ordained abroad. We believe the diocese of Madras, which now numbers thirty-eight native Clergy on its roll of missionaries, bears the palm in this important respect.

The "Calendar" of St. Augustine's for 1864, presents us with a goodly list of thirty-one English and three native students, now in residence, in addition to the hundred who are now laboring in all parts of the world. It also enumerates no less than seventeen English Dioceses, having Missionary Candidates' Associations, which thus become the best feeders of the noble institution at Canterbury.